

THE LAST YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE

VOL. II. 1657-1658

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THE LAST YEARS
OF
THE PROTECTORATE

1656-1658

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VOL. II
1657-1658

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THE LAST YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE

CHAPTER XI

THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT

LITTLE of importance happened in England during the six months intervening between the adjournment of Parliament, on June 26, 1657, and its reassembling on January 29, 1658. The main work of the Protector was to complete the fabric of the new constitution, by remodelling the Council and creating the Second Chamber provided for in the Petition and Advice. CHAP.
XI
1657

By the Instrument of Government, fifteen persons named in that document had been appointed to be the Protector's Council.¹ Of these seven were to make up a quorum. The method of appointment was complicated in the extreme. In case of the death of any

¹ The original members were Philip Viscount Lisle, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Charles Fleetwood, Sir Charles Wolseley, John Lambert, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Edward Montagu, William Sydenham, John Desborough, Philip Jones, Walter Strickland, Richard Major, Henry Lawrence, Francis Rous, Philip Skippon (Godwin, *Commonwealth*, iv. 22). Of the original fifteen, two dropped out in 1654: Major ceased to attend after October, 1654, and Cooper after December 28, 1654. Cooper practically resigned for political reasons (Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 298; iii. 6, 85). Three new members were added in 1654: Colonel Humphrey Mackworth (February 7), Nathaniel Fiennes (April 27), and Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave (June 30). But as Mackworth died in December the same year, the total number of members, despite these changes, remained fifteen (Chester, *Westminster Registers*, p. 148).

CHAP. ^{XI}
1657 member, Parliament, if sitting, was to nominate six candidates out of whom the Council was to select two, and to present their names to the Protector. It rested with the Protector to select one of these two. If Parliament was not sitting, the Council was to nominate three, and the final choice, as in the other case, was left to the Protector.¹

By the Petition and Advice the number of councillors was raised to twenty-one, but the size of the quorum remained unaltered. All must be approved by Parliament, and none could be removed without its consent. Their powers were substantially the same as those of the previous Council.² By the Additional Petition and Advice an elaborate oath was imposed on all councillors binding them to maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, not to contrive anything against his lawful authority, and not to reveal any matters treated of in the Council. Oaths of a somewhat similar character were to be taken by the members of Parliament, and by the Protector himself.³ The new councillor's oath was substituted for the much briefer and simpler formula, which had been imposed by the Instrument; and the profession of fidelity to the Protector was a new thing.⁴ When the question of this engagement was discussed in Parliament it had met with great opposition. Three members of the Protector's Council, Sydenham, Wolseley, and Lambert, spoke against oaths in general. 'I am not for any kind of oaths. I think they prove but snares,' said Lambert. Sydenham said that promissory oaths were not safe. How often had governments been well thought of for a time and afterwards pulled

¹ Instrument, article xxv.

² Petition and Advice, article viii.

³ Additional Petition and Advice. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, p. 462.

⁴ Instrument, article xlii.

down. It was not well to make men swear to things that are so alterable, and he predicted that it would prove 'a snare to the people of God.' In spite of their protests Parliament adhered to its resolution; and three forms of oath were accordingly drawn up and adopted.¹ The oath was considered a touchstone of fidelity to the new constitution, just as the Engagement had been in the time of the republic.

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XI
1657

On July 3, 1657, the first meeting of the Protector's new Council took place, and it became necessary for members before entering upon their function to make the necessary attestation. The Protector himself was present, and with him were the Commissioners of the Great Seal who came to administer the oath. Eight members appeared and went through the prescribed formula: Lawrence, Desborough, Fiennes, Mulgrave, Lisle, Rous, Fleetwood, and Strickland. At the same time Secretary Thurloe, on the Protector's nomination, was admitted to the Council and sworn in.² The Council was thus duly constituted and could set to work; but the absence of those members who had opposed oaths caused some excitement, and it was thought that they would refuse altogether. Sydenham was the first to yield; he and Skippon took the oath together on July 21. Others followed their example, Pickering on July 28, Philip Jones on August 6, Wolseley on August 25, and Montagu, who was away at sea most of the autumn, on October 24.³ Lambert remained recalcitrant, and though sent for to the Council refused to come.⁴

¹ *Commons' Journals*, vii. 571; *Burton, Diary*, ii. 275, 294.

² *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 26; *Vaughan*, ii. 223.

³ The dates are given in the proceedings of the Council.

⁴ Bordeaux wrote on July 23: 'L'establisement du Conseil est la seule affaire qui se soit faicte depuis ma dernière. Il a esté differé par les scrupules que quelques uns des anciens ministres fesoient de prendre le serment ordonné par le Parlement et qui est regardé comme la pierre de touche pour esprouver les bien intentionnez au present gouvernement. Le Major General Lambert a

CHAP. XI.
1657 His objection to the oath was a mere pretext; at one time he expressed his willingness to take it, if he were allowed to do so. But Cromwell resolved not to permit this. Lambert was notoriously hostile to the new constitution as a whole, to the increased power which it gave to the Protector, to the establishment of a Second Chamber, and to the alteration in the succession. Moreover he had been the chief instigator of the disaffection in the army, and was the chief representative of that military domination which the new constitution was meant to end. The Protector's friends urged him to utilise the opportunity to get rid of Lambert. 'I hope,' wrote Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, 'his Highness is sufficiently cautioned concerning him, and I wish those who think his continuance in power safe do not first feel the smart of it.'¹ Before this letter was written the Protector had made up his mind. On July 11 he had a long conference with Lambert, which evidently proved unsatisfactory. On July 13 he wrote a letter to Lambert,

paru le plus difficile, et ne s'y est point trouvé ce jourdhuy, quoyque appellé. Quelques autres du nombre desquels est le gouverneur de l'isle de Wight et le Sieur Pickering s'estoient auparavant esloignez soubz differents pretextes, et neuf seulement ont presté le serment.'

On July 30, Bordeaux, after mentioning Lambert's deprivation of his commissions and saying that Sydenham is threatened with the same fate if he does not submit, adds: 'Le refus de prendre le serment de fidelité a esté le pretexte de la querelle.'—*French Transcripts, R.O.* Cf. Thurloe, vi. 427; Vaughan, ii. 216.

'Lambert comes not to the Council and some men believe that he will voluntarily resign his commission; others that it will be of no prejudice or inconvenience at all for the Protector to demand it. I am of neither of these opinions, yet it is possible the latter may obteyne; at least it will, if some gentlemen's counsell be taken, whom some thinke to be in a great mistake and errour: a little tyme will give light in these thinges. The armye, for ought I can perceive, is generally in a very good posture, and quiett at least, if not fully satisfied, which I hope it is. . . . There is noe visible cause of despondinge; but, on the contrarye, of giving thanks to God for disposinge affaires as they are, whereby (as some wise men judge) His Highness hath the greatest opportunitie of settling the state upon solid foundations, that ever man had; and I trust the Lord will give him wisdome and a heart to doe it.'—Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, July 17, 1657. Thurloe, vi. 411.

¹ July 15, 1657. Thurloe, vi. 404.

ordering him to deliver up his commission as Major-General and all his other commissions. Jessop, one of the clerks of the Council, was charged to deliver the order; and their surrender took place at Wimbledon on Thursday, July 16.¹

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XI
1657

Lambert's fall was as great as it was sudden. From being what a foreign minister calls the 'demi-colleague' of the Protector he became all at once a private person, without power of any kind either in things civil or military. It was computed that he lost £6,000 a year in places; for he had been colonel of two regiments, Major-General, councillor, Lord of the Cinque Ports, and one of the Admiralty Commissioners.² The Protector, who did not wish to drive him to desperation, continued his pay upon some of his commissions until Parliament should grant him some permanent provision in recognition of his past services. But whatever the sum was—and according to Ludlow it amounted to £2,000 a year—there was no guarantee for its continuance except the Protector's pleasure.³

The supporters of kingship rejoiced at Lambert's fall. 'Never was any man less pitied or lamented after,' said they; 'he was all for himself; he hoped to be next Protector; and because nominating the successor was agreed of, therefore he was discontented.'⁴ Even amongst the soldiers there was no audible

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 113. This letter dated July 13 is printed in the *Third Report of the Historical MSS. Comm.*, p. 247.

² 'A Second Narrative of the Late Parliament.' *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 452. In the list of M.P.'s holding places of profit the pamphleteer says: 'Major-General Lambert, as one of the Council, £1000 per annum; as major-general of the army £365; as colonel of horse £474; as colonel of foot £365; and as 'tis reported had the general's pay £3640 per annum; as major-general of some countries £366 13s. 4d.: in all £6511 3s. 4d. These places he had, but whether he hath the conscience to receive thus for them, or gives any away to those that act under him, is best known to himself.'

³ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 119; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 29.

⁴ *The Grand Concernments of England ensured*, 1659, p. 61.

CHAP. XI
1657 murmuring. 'Most of the officers of the army,' wrote Thurloe, 'and those most suspected, show rather satisfaction than otherwise.'¹ Fleetwood did not hesitate to accept the command of Lambert's late regiment of foot, or Desborough to become commander of the cavalry of the army in his stead.² Of their own accord the officers of Lambert's two regiments wrote to assure the Protector of their fidelity. The army in general followed their example. 'Yesterday and to-day,' wrote Thurloe on July 28, 'there was a meeting of the officers about the town, to discourse of affairs, and appeared most unanimous in this, that the present settlement was the best that had yet been brought forth; and that it was their duty, in their places and their stations, to strengthen his Highness's hands. Not a word of discontent was used by any; if any had it in their hearts they were silent, seeing the stream run so hard on the other hand; and to-morrow is appointed for them to meet to bless God for his goodness to the nation and to them.'³

In a moment Lambert was forgotten and neglected. He lived in semi-seclusion in his great house at Wimbledon. There, according to Mrs. Hutchinson, he 'fell to dress his flowers in his garden, and work at the needle with his wife and his maids, while he was watching an opportunity to serve again his ambition.'⁴

With the solitary exception of Lambert, the Protector's new Council exactly reproduced the old one. It had been expected that some fresh blood would be brought into it. Henry Cromwell, for instance, asked eagerly whether Mr. William Pierrepont and Chief Justice Oliver St. John were not to be made councillors; but if they were invited to join it they both refused.⁵

¹ Thurloe, vi. 425.

² Thurloe, vi. 425.

³ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 114.

⁴ *Life of Col. Hutchinson*, ii. 205.

⁵ Thurloe, vi. 404.

The only new members added were Secretary Thurloe (July 13), and the Protector's eldest son, Richard Cromwell (December 31, 1657).

CHAP.
XI
1657

There now lay before the Protector the much more difficult task of choosing the members of the Second Chamber, which the Petition and Advice had called into being, or rather empowered him to create. By the new constitution its judicial powers had been carefully defined and restricted. Save in certain cases the other House was not to proceed in any civil causes; and, except upon an impeachment brought by the Commons, it was to exercise no criminal jurisdiction of any kind. On the other hand, its legislative authority was nowhere either determined or asserted, except by implication; no doubt because by the contemplated revival of monarchy it would have slipped naturally into the position of the old House of Lords. Explicit provisions, however, were included as to its composition. Its members were not to be more than seventy or less than forty in number, and the quorum was to be twenty-one. They were to be qualified according to the qualifications laid down, with regard to members of the House of Commons, in article four. They were to be nominated by the Protector and approved by the Lower House, and if any died or were removed no new ones were to be admitted in their places save by the consent of the other House itself.¹

Little is known as to the debates in which the clause relating to the new Second Chamber was drawn up. In his criticisms of the Petition the Protector had pointed out that the way in which future members of the other House were to be nominated had been left undetermined.² Parliament answered this by an

¹ Petition and Advice, article v; cf. Mr. Catterall's article on the 'Failure of the Humble Petition and Advice' in the *American Historical Review*, ix. 43.

² Speech, April 21, 1657. Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ed. Lomas, iii. 492.

CHAP. amendment giving the right of nomination to the
 {^{XI} Protector and his successors. There was some slight
 1657 opposition to the resolution. Godfrey, the member
 April so much power. 'Though you give the nomination
 24 to the now chief magistrate, out of the present confidence you have of the single person, it does not follow that the single person should name them still. . . . This will be the way to set up another House quite contrary to the interest of the House of Commons. You intend them as a balance, a medium between the House and the single person. Otherwise of necessity they must adhere to the single person, and so cease to be that balance and medium that they were intended for.'¹ But this objection met with no support; and the only serious conflict took place on June 24, when the question was raised whether the Lord Protector was to issue summonses to the members of the other House, empowering them to meet and act, or whether their names should be first approved by the Commons. The majority were for leaving the choice entirely in the Protector's hands. One argument was that the new lords would not like to have their suitability for the position freely discussed by the Commons, and might consequently be reluctant to accept their call. 'Some persons,' said one member, 'will scruple to have their names scanned over here.' 'Men,' picturesquely observed another, 'will be tossed up and down here, and their lives ripped up.' The real reason for this consideration of the feelings of possible members of the other House seems to have been the hope that the old lords, who had adhered to the Parliament's side during the Civil War, would consent to take their seats in the new House, and the fear lest the necessity of being approved by the

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii 22.

Commons should deter them from accepting. 'The argument,' said blunt old Colonel Sydenham, 'is against tumbling men up and down. I would have such a tumbling; and I thought you would have had such persons as would . . . abide tumbling and a trial. If you mean the old lords, you had as good, indeed, rake in a kennel as tumble some of them up and down. If such a foundation be laid as that the old lords shall be admitted upon the account of birthright or privileges, I shall very much fear a returning to another line.'¹

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It was also plainly stated that it would be best to leave the choice entirely to the Protector, because too many members of the Commons aspired to be lords themselves. 'If his Highness,' urged Major-General Desborough, 'should send you a list of names, and they be before you, and some think that they ought to be named that are left out, they will stir up obstructions in the approbation of others.'² In the end, by ninety to forty-one votes, the House voted not to insist on the right of approving the names of the persons called to the other House.

Yet, though the Protector was thus left absolutely free to choose the best men, the work of selection occupied him for a long time. The House was intended to be 'a screen or balance between the Protector and Commons, as the former Lords had been betwixt the King and them.' It must therefore be composed of men of property and influence, or it would not possess the necessary weight and authority to serve its purpose. It must also be composed of men of unshakable fidelity to the cause; for it was intended to serve as a bulwark against the changeableness of the elected House. 'The future security of the honest interest seemed (under God) to be laid up in them.' The power of approving or

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 298, 299.

² *Ib.* ii. 299, 301.

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1657 disapproving new members nominated by the Protector seemed to guarantee the permanence of the political creed of the original members. 'For by a mortal generation (if they were well chosen at first) like foundationals in the gathering of a church, they would propagate their own kind, when the single person could not; and the Commons who represented the nation would not, having in them for the most part the spirit of those they represent, which hath little affinity with or respect to the cause of God.'¹

There was yet a third consideration to be taken into account in selecting members: it was necessary that not only England, but the adherents of the cause throughout the three nations should be represented in it. Cromwell had to constitute an imperial council, not merely a local senate. Report said that there were to be six persons appointed to serve for Ireland and six for Scotland, while twelve of the old nobility were to be invited to take their places in the new assembly.²

In November, 1657, the Protector set to work seriously to solve these problems. He consulted his Council and he consulted friends outside it representing various sections of the party;³ but the choice caused him great perplexity. It was not that the supporters of the Government were unwilling to accept the proffered honour, for, as Desborough had hinted in his speech, the candidates were only too numerous. 'The difficulty proves great,' wrote Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, 'between those who are fit, and not willing to serve, and those who are willing, and expect it, and are not fit.'⁴ All November the Protector laboured

¹ Maidstone's letter to Winthrop. Thurloe, i. 766.

² *Clarke Papers*, iii. 115.

³ *Ib.* iii. 127. Thurloe, vi. 633; cf. *American Historical Review*, ix. 48.

⁴ Thurloe, vi. 648.

and made no progress. 'His Highness,' reported THURLOE on November 10, 'is now upon the difficult task of naming another House. The Lord be with him in it!—he hath the opinion, and deservedly, of knowing men better than any other man. His Highness will be tried in that particular now to the purpose. A mistake here will be like that of war and marriage; it admits of no repentance.'¹ On December 1, nothing was yet concluded. 'I assure you,' affirmed the Secretary, 'that there is not yet any one man fully resolved upon; and no man is able to say who they shall be.'² The Protector had at last drawn up a great list of names, which he then reduced to eighty; 'these must go through the furnace again, and which will prove gold and which dross a little time will show.'³

Late in the evening of Thursday, December 10, the list was completed, and the writs were sealed up. The form of words adopted in the summons issued to the members of the new assembly copied the phraseology used in summoning peers to Parliament.⁴ In its conclusion they were bidden to be personally present at Westminster on January 20, 1658, 'there to treat, confer, and give your advice with us and with the great men and nobles, in and about the matters aforesaid.' Of the sixty-three persons to whom the writs were directed, seven were peers of England; and there were also one Irish peer, one Scottish peer, five sons of peers, and four baronets. The Protector's family was represented by his two sons Richard and Henry, his sons-in-law Fleetwood, Claypole, and Fauconberg, and

¹ Thurloe, vi. 609.

² *Ib.* vi. 648.

³ Carte, *MSS.*, lxxiii. 166.

⁴ There was a rumour that the judges, consulted as to the form of the writs, answered that 'till his Highness did accept the title of King no legal writs could be made, nor House of Peers constituted' (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 127). The Protector disregarded this opinion.

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1657 his brothers-in-law Desborough and John Jones. Including the two Cromwells, there were seventeen officers actually in command of regiments, besides titular colonels, a number of officials, and about a dozen country gentlemen of good family and large estates.¹

In the eyes of the public the dignity of the new assembly greatly depended upon the question whether the seven peers summoned would obey the Protector's call. Only two of their number consented to do so. Manchester's refusal might have been anticipated, since he had stood aloof from every government since the King's execution; while Mulgrave's age and infirmities were a sufficient explanation of his absence.² The Earl of Warwick, however, might have been reasonably expected to accept. According to Clarendon, he was personally attached to Cromwell, 'with whom he had a fast friendship, though neither their humours nor their natures were like.'³ With Warwick's full sanction his grandson and heir, Robert Rich, had just married the Protector's daughter Frances. In a letter to Cromwell, written a few months later, Warwick did not hesitate to praise the Protector's 'prudent, heroic, and honourable' management of the public affairs, and to bid him go on and prosper.⁴ But either pride or the dread of seeming to surrender the rights of his order held him back, and when the new House met, Warwick was conspicuous by his absence. 'He would not be persuaded,' writes Ludlow, 'to sit with Colonel Hewson

¹ For a list see Thurloe, vi. 669; *Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. 167. The MSS. of the House of Lords contain the *Journal of the Protector's House of Lords*, printed from the original in the possession of Lady Tangye (vol. iv. (N.S.), p. 503).

² Mulgrave died August 28, 1658.

³ *Rebellion*, xv. 145.

⁴ Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*, iv. 528-30. Letter from Warwick to the Protector on the death of Robert Rich, March 11, 1658.

and Colonel Pride, whereof the one had been a shoemaker and the other a drayman; and had they driven no worse trades, I know not why any good man should refuse to act with them.’¹ Philip Lord Wharton, the fourth peer summoned, seemed at first inclined to accept. Like Warwick, he was one of Cromwell’s personal friends, and a match between his daughter and Henry Cromwell had been at one time projected. But in spite of Cromwell’s repeated appeals he had refused to take part either in the government or the defence of the Republic; and now after some hesitation he adopted the same attitude towards the Protectorate. His final abstention was chiefly due to the exhortations of Lord Say. Though Say’s two sons, Nathaniel and John Fiennes, were both strong Independents, and accepted seats among Cromwell’s lords, the father had now gone over to the Presbyterian party, and would accept no solution save the restoration of the old form of government and the old line of kings. He answered Wharton’s doubts with rebukes and exhortations. The old government of this kingdom, he declared, was the best in the world, being a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy ‘in that manner that it hath the quintessence of them all, and thereby the one is a boundary unto the other; whereby they are kept from falling into the extremes, which either apart is apt to slip into.’ Of this government the House of Lords was an essential part. ‘The chiefest remedy and prop to uphold this frame and building and keep it standing and steady, is (and experience hath showed it to be) the Peers of England, and their power and privileges in the House of Lords; they have been as the beam keeping both scales, king and people, in an even posture, without encroachments one upon

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¹ *Memoirs*, ii. 32.

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the other to the hurt and damage of both. Long experience hath made it manifest that they have preserved the just rights and liberties of the people against the tyrannical usurpation of kings; and have also as steps and stairs upheld the Crown from falling upon the floor, by the insolency of the multitude, from the throne of government. This being so, will it not be, as most unjust, so most dishonourable and most unworthy, for any ancient peer of England to make himself a *felo de se*, both to the nobility of England and the just and rightly constituted government of the kingdom, by being made a party, and indeed a stalking horse and vizard, to carry on the design of overthrowing the House of Peers, and in place thereof to bring in and set up a House chosen at the pleasure of him, that hath taken power into his hands to do what he will? For his own part, concluded Say, he should lay aside his writ and sit still; and, if he were sent for by force, he would tell Cromwell the truth to his face, and defend the constitution which was so unjustly to be subverted.¹ Lord Cassilis, who was the only Scotch peer selected, also 'disdained it,' and refused to act.²

The two peers who obeyed the summons were Cromwell's son-in-law, Thomas Bellasis, Lord Fauconberg, and George Lord Eure. The latter was a poor peer, 'not very bulky or imperious for a Lord,' said a Republican pamphleteer, 'and once well esteemed for honesty.'³ He had represented Yorkshire in the Barebones Parliament, and in the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656; but his narrow fortune and personal insignificance prevented his adhesion from being of much importance. It is remarkable that neither the Earl of Salisbury nor the Earl

¹ *English Historical Review*, x. 106.

² Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 359.

³ *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 487; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 133.

of Pembroke received a summons, though both of them had shown their acceptance of the Republic by sitting in the Council of State and in the Parliament. Salisbury had even been elected to this very Parliament as member for Hertfordshire, but was one of those excluded.

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If the old lords were so reluctant to sit, there were, as Desborough had hinted, numbers of commoners who were anxious to have a place in the new House; and the difficulty of the Protector was to decide between their respective claims. Colonel Thomas Cooper wrote to Thurloe from Ireland hoping that the Lord would direct the choice of his Highness, and when that choice fell upon himself his quotations from the Scriptures ill concealed his joy.¹ Speaker Lenthall lamented grievously his exclusion from the first list; and when his name was added to it was so elevated that he urged Haslerig to accept a seat in the House too. 'Assure him from me,' ran the message, 'that all that do so shall themselves and their heirs be for ever peers of England.'² Sir Arthur Haslerig, however, who was the only representative of the parliamentary opposition summoned by Cromwell, preferred to continue a member of the Commons.

In all, out of the sixty-three persons summoned, forty-two accepted, and were sworn in as members of the new chamber. Of the remainder, some were kept away by their official duties. Monck could not be spared from Scotland, nor Henry Cromwell and Lord Chancellor Steele from Ireland; while Sir William Lockhart's diplomatic duties kept him in France.³

¹ Thurloe, vi. 673, 707.

² Ludlow, ii. 32. Many others held that the new dignities would be hereditary. See Catterall, *American Historical Review*, ix. 47.

³ Henry Cromwell, Lord Broghil, Lord Chancellor Steele, Sir John

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As soon as the list became publicly known it was severely criticised. 'The principal part of them,' caustically writes Ludlow, 'were such as had procured their present possessions by their wits, and were resolved to enlarge them by selling their consciences.'¹ An anonymous republican subsequently printed a pamphlet called 'A Second Narrative of the late Parliament,' which contained a sort of biographical dictionary of the new lords, 'with a description of their merits and deserts.'² All, according to him, were reprobates or turncoats, whose corruption and servility were their chief characteristics. To a modern eye they seem a fairly representative body of notables drawn from the limited section of the community which accepted Cromwell's government. The fact that the field of choice was so narrow was the natural result of seventeen years of revolution and civil war; and the Protector had done what he could to select 'men of all interests' within that field. His great mistake, according to some of his best friends, was that he had given the military element too large a place in the list. 'If you had been there time enough,' wrote Henry Cromwell to Lord Broghil, 'your lordship might have been carpenter of a better house'; adding later that he was amazed at the proceedings, and had a kind of dread in considering them.³

On January 20, the eagerly expected meeting of Parliament took place. The two Houses came together in the Lords' House to hear addresses from the

Reynolds, and Col. Thomlinson were the five representatives of Ireland (Thurloe, vi. 680, 732). For Monck's letter *vide* Thurloe, vi. 741.

¹ Ludlow, ii. 31.

² *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 475. See also a ballad upon them: *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. ix. app. xcvi.

³ Thurloe, vi. 745, 775. Observers were beginning to fear that the new House would be 'too thin for a screen, too light for a balance,' as John Maidstone afterwards said. *Ib.* i. 766.

Protector and from Nathaniel Fiennes, the Commissioner of the Great Seal. The speech of the latter was mainly an enthusiastic rhapsody; but it contained also a defence of the recent constitutional change. ‘Some years since,’ he began, ‘we had not thought to have seen a chief magistrate again among us, and, lo! God hath shown us a chief magistrate in his two Houses of Parliament! Now may the good God make them like Ephraim and Manasseh, that the three nations may be blessed in them, saying: “God make thee like those two Houses of Parliament, which two, like Leah and Rachel, did build the House of Israel!”’ ‘This constitution of a chief magistrate and two Houses of Parliament,’ he continued, ‘is not a pageantry, but a real and well-measured advantage to itself and to the Commonwealth; and so consonant to reason, that it is the very emblem and idea of reason itself, which reasoneth and discourseth by a medium between two extremes. If there be two extremes, and the one vary from the other, how shall they be reconciled, if there be no medium to bring them together?’ Finally he dwelt on the importance of the veto of the Protector and the Upper House, as a safeguard against hasty legislation, and on the usefulness of a second chamber to revise the laws sent up to it by the first. ‘If anything inconvenient should chance to slip out at one door, must it not pass two more before it come abroad to the detriment of the people? How exact, and of how great respect and authority, will be all your acts, laws, and resolutions, when, after they have passed the examination of that great body, which sees with the eye of the three nations, and is acquainted with the condition, and sensible of the necessities, of every individual part thereof, they shall then pass a second scrutiny, and be polished and refined by such as during life shall make it their business either to fit

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CHAP. themselves for, or to be exercised in, things of that
 XI nature ! ' ¹
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The Protector's own speech was simple, and less figurative than that of Fiennes. It contained no vindication of the new Second Chamber, but all observed that he addressed its members by the title of Lords. His words were full of satisfaction and confidence, and he seemed to think that the ship of the State had at last reached its desired haven. 'It is very well known unto you all,' he began, 'what difficulties we have passed through, and what we are now arrived at. We hope we may say we have arrived at what we aimed at, if not at that which is much beyond our expectations. . . . God,' he concluded, 'hath given you strength to do what hath been done ; and if God shall bless you in this work, and make this meeting happy upon this account, you shall all be called the Blessed of the Lord. The generations to come will bless us. You shall be "the repairers of breaches, and the restorers of paths to dwell in." And if there be any higher work which mortals can attain unto in this world, beyond this, I acknowledge my ignorance of it.' ²

One great danger threatened the constitutional settlement which had been reached with so much difficulty. Only a portion of the audience shared the enthusiastic hopes of the Protector and the Commissioner of the Great Seal. The composition of what must now be termed the House of Commons had been very seriously altered. Some ninety-three members had been excluded at the beginning of the first session, because they had failed to obtain tickets of approval from the Protector's Council. By the Petition and Advice the House had vindicated its right to judge the eligibility of its own

¹ *Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. 175.

² Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Speech xvi.

members; and all were now admitted who took the prescribed oath. The excluded Republicans trooped in, and swore without any hesitation 'to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector,' and 'not to contrive, design or attempt anything against his lawful authority.' Sir Arthur Haslerig, refusing the seat which Cromwell had offered him in the Upper House, slipped quietly into his old place in the Lower. 'I shall heartily take the oath,' he declared. 'I will be faithful to my Lord Protector's person. I will murder no man.'¹ But neither Haslerig nor his followers saw anything in the oath which pledged them to acknowledge or maintain a new House of Lords. What made things worse was the transference from the Lower House to the Upper of about thirty members, whose votes and whose debating skill were likely to prove a serious loss to the government. The first signs of the coming storm were seen on January 22. Mr. Speaker reported to the House that two of the judges were at the door with a message from the Lords, and the House, after hearing their errand, resolved to send an answer by messengers of its own. At once a debate arose on the question whether the answer was to be addressed to the 'Lords' or to the 'Other House.'² To the Republicans the distinction seemed of far-reaching import. To call the second chamber referred to a 'House of Lords' would, in their view, confer upon it a co-ordinate authority with the Commons, give it a power of sanctioning or negating laws, and invest it with all the right of the old House of Lords. But if it were termed the 'Other House,' as the Petition and Advice styled it, its powers would be limited to those

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 346; cf. p. 297. Haslerig took his seat on January 25. See also Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 32.

² Burton, *Diary*, ii. 339.

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 XI it would possess no claim to a voice in the legislation.
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The leaders of the opposition were Sir Arthur Haslerig and Thomas Scot, member for Aylesbury. Each regarded the other as a model of Republican virtue. Each professed the utmost contempt for titles, and the most unbounded reverence for the representatives of the people. 'I like your company very well, gentlemen,' said Haslerig to the House, 'and I do aspire no higher than to be a commoner of England.' 'It is not enough,' echoed Scot, 'for the "Other House" to christen themselves the "House of Lords," but they christen you that you are "Commons." I am not ashamed of the title, it being the greatest honour under heaven to serve the people in the meanest capacity in this House.' Haslerig's refusal to accept a seat in the 'Other House' filled Scot with enthusiasm. 'I move,' he cried, 'that thanks be given to that honourable person that vouchsafes to sit among the Commons notwithstanding his call to another place; that he thinks it his honour to sit among the Commons of England before any society of men whatsoever.'¹

The debate began with a speech from Scot, which occupied a whole morning in its delivery. It was not merely an argumentative attack on the new Second Chamber, but a narrative of the misdeeds of the late House of Lords, and an account of the causes of its abolition. 'Shall I,' he asked, 'that sat in a Parliament that brought a King to the bar and to the block, not speak my mind freely here? We must lay things bare

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 399, 424, 440.

and naked. The Lords would not join in the trial of the King. We were either to lay all that blood of ten years' war upon ourselves, or upon some other object. We called the King of England to our bar, and arraigned him. He was for his obstinacy and guilt condemned and executed; and so let all the enemies of God perish. Upon this the Lords' House adjourned and never met; and hereby came a farewell of all those peers, and it was hoped that the people of England should never have a negative upon them. . . . They were by the providence of God set free from any negative. Will they thank you if you bring such a negative upon them, the people that had bled for you? What was fought for, but to arrive at that capacity, to make your own laws?'¹ Haslerig was as vehement as Scot, and if his speeches were shorter they were much more numerous. At one time he suggested that the debate might very well occupy two months, and moved for a committee of the whole House.² Another day he passionately denounced the attempt to revive a House of Lords. 'Well it is for Pym, Strode and Hampden, my fellow traitors impeached by the King, they are dead! Yet I am glad I am alive to say this at this day.' Then he made a long narrative to show how useless and pernicious the House of Lords had been. 'The saintlike army, who were not mercenary, were sensible of those grievances. The Lords willingly laid down their lives; and the army desired they might have a decent interment, which was done accordingly. And shall we now rake them up after they have been so long in the grave? Will it not be infamous all the nation over? Shall we be a grand jury again? There is not a man in this House but has sworn against it.'³ He concluded by saying that

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¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 382-92. January 29, 1658.

² *Ib.* ii. 393.

³ *Ib.* ii. 407. February 2, 1658.

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this was the most important matter that ever was debated in an English Parliament. He would rather be torn in pieces than betray the liberties of the people of England.¹ Haslerig and Scot were backed by an abler politician than either, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper. Cooper dwelt specially on the evil consequences involved in using the title 'Lords.' 'There is a great deal more in it than appears. Admit Lords and admit all. . . . I am not of their opinion that say there is nothing in the name. There is nothing but a compliment to call a man a Lord; but if he call himself Lord of my manor, I shall be loth to give him the title, lest he claim the manor. The gentlemen of the long robe will tell you there is much in names. The word king they know carries all. Words are the keys of the cabinet of things. Let us first take the people's jewels out, before you part with that cabinet.'² This line of argument had been, to some extent, anticipated and answered by John Trevor on behalf of the government. As the lawyers had argued that Cromwell should take the title of King instead of that of Protector, because the authority of a king was well known and legally defined, while the powers of a protector were indefinite and unknown to the law, so Trevor asserted that the safest course would be to give the Second Chamber the name of Lords. 'We know what the House of Lords could do. We know not what this "Other House" may do. It may claim to be the House of Commons, to open the people's purse at both ends.'³

The opposition frequently referred to the obstructiveness of the late House of Lords as an argument against its revival in any shape. 'We know,' said Mr. Weaver, 'with what difficulty good laws passed the Lords

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 437.

² *Ib.* ii. 419, 433.

³ *Ib.* ii. 412.

in former time.' 'The other House,' added Scot, 'was justly cast out, by their being clogs upon the passing of many good laws.' The supporters of the government replied, with some force, that a safeguard against hasty legislation was imperatively demanded. 'It was not thought fit,' urged Colonel Shapcote, 'that laws should suddenly pass upon the people'; and therefore in the interest of the people a second House was established. 'The great reason was that bills passed too hastily here,' said Colonel Matthews.¹ Serjeant Maynard, whose legal eminence gave his words more weight, pressed the argument home by a reference to the proceedings of the first session of the present Parliament, when batch after batch of earlier ordinances had been re-enacted after the most perfunctory examination. 'This Parliament did pass more in one month than the best student in England can read in a year, and well if he can understand it then. A check is necessary upon us.'²

A theory which the political speculations of Harrington had popularised was that of the balance of property. It was frequently urged that the members of the 'Other House' had not enough landed property to qualify them for the constitutional position assigned them. 'They are not a balance as the old Lords were, as to matter of estate.' Scot declared that they sat merely as a part of the Commons in another place. 'They have not the reason of the quality of Lords. They have not interest, not the forty-thousandth part of England.'³ To this Major-General Boteler replied that the new Lords had better qualifications than land or wealth. 'These are the qualifications, religion, piety and faithfulness to this commonwealth. They are the best

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 377, 383, 402, 431.

² *Ib.* ii. 458,

³ *Ib.* ii. 390,

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balance; these persons have it. It is not estates will be the balance.’¹ Major Beke added another reason, saying that the officers who sat in the ‘Other House’ possessed a material power which might well be set against the territorial influence of the old Lords. ‘The sword is there. Is not that also a good balance? He that has a regiment of foot to command in the army, he is as good a balance as any I know, and can do more.’²

Beke’s statement was only too true. The strength of the ‘Other House’ lay in the military element it contained. If officers were not the majority, they were at all events the preponderating influence there. Parliament had solemnly declared in 1649 that the people were, under God, the original of all just power. Were the representatives of the people to be checked and controlled by the representatives of the soldiers whom they paid? It might be well for England that the omnipotence of the representative assembly should be limited by a written constitution, or by the existence of a Second Chamber. But in the long run it could not be well that the sword should become a recognised power in the constitution, and exercise a deciding voice in the councils of the nation. In the perception of this fact lay the strength of the opposition, and the justification of its apparently factious conduct.

The weary wrangle about the name of the new assembly dragged on from January 29 to February 4. The Protector had made one attempt to divert the discussions of the House, and to persuade its members to lay aside constitutional disputes. On January 25 he sent for the two Houses, and made them what a member termed ‘a very long, plain, and serious speech,

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 409.

² *Ib.* ii. 416.

relating to the state of our affairs at home and abroad ; inviting us to unite, and not to stand upon circumstances.'¹ In effect it was an attempt to recall them to political realities. He bade them look beyond the walls of Westminster, and see what was happening in Europe, and think how it was likely to affect England : he bade them look beneath the troubled surface of English politics, and consider if there was any way to prevent anarchy except the maintenance of the constitution whose details they were arguing about.

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Not only, began Cromwell, was the well-being of these nations at stake, but their very being. As Protector he was, as it were, a man set upon a watch-tower to give warning of coming dangers ; and therefore he would devote his speech to the question of the danger which threatened them abroad and at home. And first from abroad. Protestantism was evidently endangered all over Europe ; it was struck at and trodden down underfoot. The greatest design now on foot, in comparison with which all other designs were but low things, was whether the Christian world should be all Popery. The Papacy and its upholders had begun by treading down the poor Piedmontese, towards whom this nation had exercised so noble a charity ; but that was only the first step.

'Is this all ? No. Look but how the House of Austria on both sides of Christendom, are armed and prepared to make themselves able to destroy the whole Protestant interest.' To begin with, there was the King of Hungary, who expected to make himself Emperor of Germany, and in the judgment of all men was not only likely, but certain to succeed in doing so. He had won

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 351 ; cf. *Clarke Papers*, iii. 134 ; Vaughan, ii. 438. Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Speech xvii, ed. Lomas. The comments of the Brandenburg agent are instructive. *Urkunden und Actenstücke*, vii. 788.

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over the Duke of Brandenburg, and he was sure of the votes of the three ecclesiastical electors and the Duke of Bavaria. Whom would he have to contest with him abroad in order to take the Empire of Germany out of his hands? And was he not the son of a father whose chief interest and personal conscience had led him to exile all Protestants out of his patrimonial estates, out of Bohemia, out of Moravia, and out of Silesia? Even now, as the daily complaints of exiled Protestants proved, Leopold was pursuing the same policy. And then, on the other side of Europe, there was Spain with all its power in Italy threatening the like fate to the Grisons, the Piedmontese, and the Swiss. Behind them was the Pope—a Pope fitted to accomplish this bloody work—the Popes had always influenced all the princes of Europe to this very thing, and no man like this present man. There was a general consent and co-operation of the Catholic powers in all parts of Europe to accomplish this design.

Against this mighty torrent, coming from all parts against Protestantism, what resistance was there to be made save that offered by Sweden and Charles X? 'Who is there that holdeth up his head to oppose this great design? A poor Prince! Indeed poor, but a man in his person as gallant, and truly I may say as good, as any these late ages have brought forth; a man that hath adventured his all against the Popish interest in Poland, and made his acquisitions still good for the Protestant religion. He is now reduced into a corner, and that which addeth to the grief of all . . . is that men of our religion forget that and seek for his ruin.' After this hit at the Danes and Dutch,¹ Cromwell

¹ The Elector of Brandenburg allied himself with Denmark on February $\frac{4}{14}$, about ten days after this speech. Possibly Cromwell referred to the Brandenburgers too.

affirmed that this complex design against the Protestant interest was also a design against the very being of England, as its results would show. Dropping religious considerations he suddenly appealed to commercial interests. 'If they can shut us out of the Baltic sea, and make themselves masters of that, where is your trade? Where are your materials to preserve your shipping, or where will you be able to challenge any right by sea to justify yourselves against a foreign invasion in your own soil? Think upon it; this is in design. I do believe if you will go to ask the poor mariner in his red cap and coat, as he passeth from ship to ship, you will hardly find in any ship but they will tell you this is designed against you; so obvious is it, by this and other things, that you are the object.'¹

The moral the Protector drew from this was that England must be prepared to intervene in the struggle for the dominion of the Baltic not only with ships but with soldiers.

'You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great ditch from all the world beside. Truly you will not be able to keep your ditch nor your shipping, unless you turn your ships and your shipping into troops of horse and companies of foot, and fight to defend yourselves in terra firma.'

England, he added, stood practically alone against her enemies. 'Were it not that France is a balance to this party at this time, should there be a general peace made that hath been and is still laboured and aimed at, then will England be the general object of all the fury

¹ Professor Michael, who quotes this passage in his *Cromwell*, ii. 175, regards it as directed against the Dutch, and as containing the real explanation of the Protector's desire to obtain Bremen. 'Aus solcher Stimmung heraus ist der Gedanke der Erwerbung von Bremen und Verden bei Cromwell entstanden, und so muss er beurteilt werden.' Cromwell sought thereby, he concludes, to strengthen his position against Holland in view of the probability of a new war.

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 XI in the world.'
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'Do but look on the other side of the water.' There was the old avowed enemy, Spain, anxious to root England out of the earth, and, when public attempts failed, employing Jesuits and other emissaries to perplex and trouble England by assassination plots. There too were some friends less to be trusted than enemies—the Dutch, as Cromwell plainly indicated. A people who preferred gain to godliness—who professed a principle which, thanks be to God, Englishmen never knew. 'They will sell arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies. We do know that this is true. . . . They have hired sloops to transport upon you four thousand foot and one thousand horse, upon the pretended interest of that young man that was the late King's son.'

This he told them to awaken them to a just consideration of their danger, and to invite them to a just and natural defence.

Let them now consider for a little the state of affairs at home. 'I say look to your own affairs at home, how they stand. . . . We are full of calamities and divisions among us in respect of the spirits of men, though, through a wonderful and never to be sufficiently admired providence of God, in peace. . . . Take us in that temper we are in, or rather distemper, it is the greatest miracle that ever befell the sons of men.' The man who sought to break that peace, and considered not what the breaking of that peace would mean to the helpless ones of the nation, 'must have a Cain's heart. . . . The wrath and justice of God will persecute such a man to his grave if not to hell.' Let them consider all the varieties of factions and sects in England. 'If God did not hinder all would but make up a confusion,

and we should find there will be more than one Cain in England, if God did not restrain, and we should have another more bloody civil war than ever we had in England.'

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For what was the spirit that possessed every sect? Each was struggling to be uppermost, and to get power into its own hands, and to make wounds wider instead of seeking to heal them. And this contest was carried on in the midst of 'a malignant episcopal party,' all united and all watching for an opportunity against them. What was it prevented the eruption of all these discontents, and the war of section against section? First of all the army. 'But what is the case of this army? A poor unpaid army, the soldiers going barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather, and yet a peaceable people, seeking to serve you with their lives, judging their pains and hazards and all well bestowed, in obeying their officers and serving you, to keep the peace of these nations. Yea, he must be a man that hath a heart as hard as the weather, that hath not a due sense of this.' In England this army was five or six months behind in pay, in Scotland near as much, in Ireland much more.

The next safeguard was the government; to maintain the existing government was the only way to keep England in peace and quietness. 'Have you any frame or model of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if this be not the frame that you are now called together upon and engaged in—I mean the two Houses of Parliament and myself? What hinders this nation from being an Aceldama, if this do not? It is without doubt this.' To uphold this settlement was the general interest of all. He pointed out the condition of Ireland and Scotland; Ireland where the English colony was so lately settled, Scotland where poverty was gradually

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giving place to renewed prosperity, both entirely dependent upon the maintenance of their existing peace by a strong English government. If the Parliament was led off from the consideration of these things to 'quarrel about circumstances,' instead of uniting with heart and soul to maintain the honest and just rights of this nation, only ruin could follow. 'Let me say this to you at once. I never look to see the people of England come into a just liberty, if any other war should overtake us. . . . Pretend what you will, if we run into another flood of blood and war, the sinews of this nation being wasted by the last, it must sink and perish utterly.' It will be said of this poor nation, '*Actum est de Anglia.*'

With these warnings, and with the solemn promise to stand or fall with them in maintaining the constitution to which he and they had sworn to be faithful, the Protector dismissed the House. But his speech fell on deaf ears. For the next ten days the futile debate about the powers of the 'Other House' still continued, absolutely unaffected by Cromwell's attempt to bring them back from constitutional fictions to political realities. The republican leaders had not sufficient common sense to perceive that the existing government, with all its faults, was the only thing that stood between England and the restoration of the Stuarts. When it should be overthrown the Tower waited for Haslerig, the gallows for Scot, and ruin for the cause for which they had fought.

Under the cover of these discussions the opposition leaders were negotiating an alliance with the malcontents in the army and the Fifth-Monarchy men and sectarian clergy in the City. A petition had been drawn up praying in general terms for the restoration of the republic. It demanded that the House of Commons

should secure to the people a succession of Parliaments in which 'the supreme power and trust which the people (the original of all just power) commit unto them, to make laws, constitutions and offices for the government of the whole, and to call all officers of justice and ministers of state whatsoever to account, may be so clearly declared and secured against all attempts to the contrary, that no question may henceforth arise concerning the same.'

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This meant the restoration of the Long Parliament, or some new Parliament invested with the same absolute authority, neither restricted by the existence of a Second Chamber with a share in legislation, nor by the existence of a Protector with a veto on the laws it passed. It meant a Parliament unlimited by any written constitution, whether such a one as the Instrument of Government had been, or such as the Petition and Advice was. In short, it struck at the root of the existing government.

To gain support to this fundamental demand, and to combine all sections of malcontents against the government, two other demands were added. One was that provisions should be made for all sincere professors of religion, so that no tender conscience might be oppressed. This was meant to attract those to whom the religious settlement contained in the Petition and Advice was unsatisfactory; who held the national church and the national profession of faith therein promised to be an engine of oppression, and regarded liberty of worship and freedom of conscience as endangered by the provisions of the article respecting toleration. The Fifth-Monarchy men, the Quakers, the Unitarians and the extreme sects of Independents were hereby appealed to.

The other demand contained in the petition was

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still more important, for it was the first attempt to form that alliance between the Parliamentary republicans and the army, which caused in April, 1659, the fall of the Protectorate. It required that 'the officers and soldiers who have hazarded their lives for the nation's liberty may not be turned out of their respective employments without a legal trial at a court-martial, that so the military power may be preserved in the hands of such who are not merely mercenary neuters or disaffected.' This was a demand repeatedly made by the officers of the army from 1647 onwards; and at first sight it seems just and reasonable enough. On the other hand, the essential condition of any such concession was that the officers on their part should be the servants of the State as they are now, and obedient to the orders of the civil power as they are now. It was impossible for any government to grant them this right so long as they claimed openly, in every political crisis, to dictate the action of the government, and to be the masters rather than the servants of the State. The civil authority, if it was to continue to exist, must retain the right to control and, if need be, to dismiss officers for offences not specially particularised in the articles of war. The officers must cease to be politicians if they wished for security of tenure. In 1659, when the republic had been re-established, this demand for freedom from dismissal save by sentence of court-martial was again put forward by the officers of the army; but the very men who had promoted this petition in January, 1658, refused to entertain the demand. For as things stood then no government could concede such a demand without abdicating its functions. Even in the English army of to-day a court-martial is granted as a matter of favour and not as a right; and the Crown has the power of dismissing any

officer without any reason assigned or any redress given.¹

This petition was directed to the House of Commons, which was addressed by the title of 'the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England,' thus implicitly denying the right of the 'Other House' to any share in the parliamentary authority.² Who the author of the petition was we know not. Its most active promoters were the leaders of the expelled Long Parliament, especially those who were members of the House, such as Haslerig, Scot, and John Weaver. They were backed by some of the ministers in the City, who 'spake high and openly against the government of his Highness,' and excited their flocks to sign the petition.³ They relied upon finding support in the army, some of whom had been sounded and found to be in favour of the restoration of the old Parliament which they had expelled in 1653.⁴ Fifty copies of the petition were printed and circulated in London, in order to be signed, and many thousands of names were quickly collected.⁵ Estimates of the number who actually signed it differ: one says 2000, another 10,000, a third 20,000.⁶ It 'would have gathered like a snowball,' confessed an official, if it had not been checked in time. When a sufficient number of signatures had been obtained, some twenty persons were to present it to the House of Commons in the name of the rest,⁷ and it was rumoured amongst the Royalists that Lord Fairfax would

¹ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 118; Clode, *Military Forces of the Crown*, i. 177.

² See the title of the petition itself, and the comments of Bordeaux. Thurloe, vi. 779. The petition was revived and presented to the next Parliament on February 9, 1659. See Thurloe, vii. 617; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 180.

³ Thurloe, vi. 778.

⁴ *Ib.* vii. 269.

⁵ E. H. *A True Copy of a Petition*, British Museum, E. 936. 5.

⁶ Thurloe, vi. 781; *English Historical Review*, vii. 107.

⁷ E. H. *A True Copy of a Petition*.

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 XI this opportunity to propose to the House the restoration
 1658 of the Republic and the recall of the Long Parliament;²
 and they felt sure of carrying a vote which would shake
 the Protectorate to its foundations, and perhaps overthrow it altogether. The day fixed for the presentation of the petition was Thursday, February 4; and on the third, letters were sent out warning members believed to be in sympathy with the design to be in their places to support it. 'I hope you will be at the House to-morrow to do service for the army and the nation,' ran one of these circulars.³

It was a propitious moment for all the friends of disorder. In Flanders the little army of Charles II was waiting for a chance to cross the water; in England the Royalists were preparing for an immediate rising, and the Marquis of Ormond, hidden in London, was inspecting the preparations and arranging for concerted action between the different sections of his party. All this the Protector knew, and his government was preparing to meet the danger. On February 3 the House of Lords, on behalf of the government, sent two of the judges as messengers to the Commons asking them to join in an address to the Protector for banishing all papists and Cavaliers twenty miles from London. The Commons, wrapped up in disputing about the title, simply replied that they would send an answer 'to the other House' by messengers of their own, and continued to wrangle.⁴ Against the Fifth-Monarchy men and the Anabaptists Cromwell had already taken his

¹ *English Historical Review*, vii. 110.

² Thurloe, vii. 269.

³ *English Historical Review*, vii. 108.

⁴ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 438-41. The proclamation was not issued till February 25. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 303. *MSS. of the House of Lords* (N.S.), iv. 523.

precautions. On February 3 he signed a warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower for the arrest of three of their leaders, Hugh Courtney, John Rogers, and John Portman, suspected of raising seditions and commotions in London. Their special offence was circulating pamphlets amongst the soldiers, containing adjurations to 'destroy the Beast with his supporters.'¹ Signs were not wanting that the propaganda had met with some success, and that the project for the revival of the Republic had friends amongst the rank and file as well as amongst the officers. Soldiers had been heard to speak of the sinfulness of 'enthraling their posterity, though themselves might live well for a time,' and it was known that the Protector's own regiment of horse was of doubtful fidelity.² On the night of February 3 the Protector took the precaution of making the guards at Whitehall, Westminster, and the Mews³ change places with each other, so as to prevent any possible collusion between them and the disaffected party. More and more, as fresh information reached him, he became convinced that nothing but immediate action on his part could prevent a demonstration against the government so serious that the public peace might be endangered. Therefore, without consulting any of his Council, he resolved, on the morning of February 4, to prevent the presentation of the petition by dissolving Parliament. As secrecy was essential he did not even communicate his intention to Secretary Thurloe, who was ill in bed, telling him simply that he was going to the House, but not saying why.⁴ About ten o'clock he left Whitehall

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¹ Thurloe, vi. 775; cf. *Mercurius Politicus*, February 4-11, pp. 294, 303, 307. The chief pamphlet was entitled *Some Considerations, &c.* Col. John White was also arrested. *Mercurius Politicus*, February 18-25, 1658.

² *English Historical Review*, vii. p. 108.

³ The Mews was about Charing Cross, where Trafalgar Square now stands.

⁴ This is mainly based on the anonymous letter to John Hobart, printed in *English Historical Review*, vii. 107-9. See also Thurloe, vi. 778, 779, 781.

CHAP. by the back way, intending to take a boat to Westminster
 XI as he had done when he opened the session. But the
 1658 ice in the river was so bad that it was impossible to go
 by water. He came back therefore, and told the first
 of his guards he met to press the nearest coach he could
 find. For the need of haste was so great that he could
 not wait for one of his state coaches to get ready.¹
 The guard did as he was ordered; and so in a hired
 hackney coach drawn by a couple of horses, attended
 only by four footmen and five or six guards,² the Pro-
 tector made his way to the House, which he reached
 between ten and eleven.³

Arrived at the House Cromwell retired into 'the withdrawing-room' he usually made use of on his visits, and refreshed himself by drinking a cup of ale and eating some toast.⁴ At the same time he sent to call the judges from their courts in Westminster Hall,⁵ and ordered Black Rod to summon the Commons to meet him in the Lords' House.⁶ Fiennes and Fleetwood, hearing of his presence, came to him in the withdrawing-room, anxious to learn the meaning of his unexpected arrival. Fiennes asked him what he intended, to which he said that he would dissolve the House. 'I beseech your Highness,' said Fleetwood, 'consider well of it first; it is of great

¹ The 'hackney coach' is also mentioned by Josias Berners (*English Historical Review*, vii. 107). 'In one of his worst coaches,' writes Payne to Nieupoort (Thurloe, vi. 781). 'In his coach with two horses,' says Bordeaux (Thurloe, vi. 779). 'He would not stay for one of his coaches,' says Ludlow (ii. 33). See also *Urkunden und Actenstücke*, vii. 789.

² 'Accompanied only with one lieutenant colonel, his nephew, and six halberdiers.'—Thurloe, vi. 778.

³ 'About eleven,' says a letter to John Hobart (*English Historical Review*, 1892, p. 106). According to Burton the Lower House rose at 'a little past twelve,' and this is confirmed by the length of the debates recorded (Burton, *Diary*, ii. 463).

⁴ Anonymous letter to Hobart.

⁵ Berners; Ludlow, ii. 33.

⁶ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 464.

consequence.' 'You are a milksop,' replied the Protector to his son-in-law; 'as the Lord liveth I will dissolve the House.'¹ Paying no further attention to their remonstrances, he proceeded into the Lords' House, and, standing under the cloth of state, addressed the now assembled members.

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To the Commons this sudden summons to meet the Protector was a great surprise. They had met as usual at nine o'clock, and proceeded, as usual also, to debate 'touching the appellation of the Other House.' Baron Thorpe had made a long speech against calling them Lords without first limiting the powers they might claim by virtue of that title. Serjeant Maynard had argued with equal learning that 'Lords' was the only possible name by which the 'Other House' could be called, and that it was a salutary thing to have such a check on the Commons. As Maynard ended, the Speaker announced that Black Rod was at the door. Up jumped Scot to make his ninth or tenth speech on the same subject, and avail himself of what he suspected might be his last opportunity. An obscure member interrupted him, saying that he had spoken to the question already, and had promised to speak no more; while Haslerig intervened to suppress the obscure member and back up his friend Scot. Others reminded Haslerig that Black Rod was waiting. 'What care I for the Black Rod?' retorted Haslerig wrathfully. 'The gentleman ought to be heard.' The two would have disregarded the Protector's messenger, for they guessed what his appearance meant; but the House gave them no support. Black Rod delivered his message: 'Mr.

¹ Anonymous letter to Berners; Ludlow, ii. 33. 'I believe,' wrote Henry Cromwell, 'the milk wherein 653 was sop't had much water in,' evidently referring to the epithet applied to Fleetwood. Thurloe, vi. 811. 'Second Narrative of the Late Parliament,' *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 472.

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Speaker, his Highness is in the Lords' House and desires to speak with you.' So the debate was adjourned and the members trooped after their Speaker to hear what his Highness had to say.¹

The last time he met them, began the Protector, he had 'very comfortable expectations' that the meeting of this Parliament would be a blessing to these nations.² He owed his present position of Protector to the Petition and Advice which the House of Commons had presented to him. Not a man living could say he sought it. When they petitioned and advised him to undertake this government, he had told them he thought the burden too heavy for any creature; and he had refused to undertake it except upon certain conditions, to which they had agreed. He had undertaken it in the end with great reluctance. 'I can say it in the presence of God, in comparison of whom all we that are here are like poor creeping ants upon the earth, that I would have been glad as to my own conscience and spirit to have been living under a woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than to have undertaken such a place as this was. But, undertaking it by the Petition and Advice of you, I did look that you that did offer it unto me should have made it good.' One of the conditions upon which he had accepted it had been the establishment of a Second House. 'I tell you of one thing that I made a condition. I would not undertake it without there might be some other body that might interpose between you and me, on the behalf of the commonwealth, to prevent a tumultuary and a popular spirit. You granted it, that I should name another House. And I named it with integrity, I did. I named it out of men that can meet you

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 442, 462; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 592.

² Carlyle, *Cromwell*, ed. Lomas, Speech xviii., and Supplement, p. 503.

wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you and tell you that it is not titles, it is not lordship, it is not this nor that, that they value, but a Christian and an English interest. Men of your own rank and quality, and men that I approved my heart to God in choosing; men that I hoped would not only be a balance to a Commons House of Parliament but to themselves, having honest hearts, loving the same things that you love, whilst you love England and whilst you have religion. . . . I say I did choose such a House as I thought I might answer for upon my life, that they would be true to those ends and those things that were the ground and state of our war with the Cavalier Party all along. And what will satisfy if this will not ? ’

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In the second place, he would not have accepted the government unless there had been ‘ a just reciprocation between the government and the governed ’; that is, unless those that represented the whole body of the nation would take an oath to make good what Parliament petitioned and advised him to do, just as he himself took an oath to observe the conditions of the Petition and Advice. When that was once agreed, they were upon a foundation—they had a basis to stand upon. As to any emendations or improvements they might afterwards think necessary, he considered himself bound to accept the advice of the two Houses. Therefore, if there had been ‘ an intention of settlement,’ they would have accepted the constitution as a basis to be altered or modified. But they had done nothing of the kind; they had sought to overthrow the existing constitution and set up something else in its stead. ‘ It is evident to all the world that a new business hath been seeking in the room of this actual settlement.’ Turning pointedly to the members of the Lower House he added: ‘ In this I do not speak to those gentlemen, or

CHAP. Lords, or whatever you will call them, but I say it to
 XI you.'

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'You have not only disquieted yourselves, but the whole nation is disquieted, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion, in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last session to this day. Through the intention of devising a commonwealth again, that some tribunes of the people might be the men that might rule all.¹ . . . This is the business; but is this all? . . . We have known attempts have been made in the army to seduce them; and almost the greatest confidence hath been in the army to break and divide us. . . . I have seen the tendency of these things to be nothing else but the playing of the King of Scots his game, by beginning tumults and disturbances amongst us. . . . What I told you at the last meeting in the Banqueting House is more confirmed to me within a day or two than I knew then: that the King of Scots hath an army drawn down towards the waterside ready to be shipped for England. I tell you that I knew this from their own mouths and from eye-witnesses of it, that they are in a very great preparation to attempt upon us. And whilst that is doing, there are endeavours from some not far from this place to stir up the people of this town into tumulting. . . . It is not only that, but endeavours hath been to pervert the army whilst you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a commonwealth.'

If these things were so, what could it all end in but

¹ 'That some of the people might be the men that might rule all' is the usual version (*Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. 202; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 138). A report amongst the *Lansdowne MSS.* (754, f. 342) reads 'that some tribune of the people might be the man.' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ed. Lomas, iii. 507.) The facts of the case, and the agreement of most versions in employing the plural, seem to warrant the change of 'tribune' to 'tribunes.' Scot and Haslerig were doubtless the persons meant.

blood and confusion ? and what was the cause but their not assenting to what, by the Petition and Advice, they had forced him to accept ?

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‘ If this be the end of your sitting and this your carriage I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do declare to you here that I do dissolve this parliament. And let God be judge between you and me.’ ‘ Amen,’ answered some of the Commons.

CHAPTER XII

THE ROYALIST CONSPIRACY

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THE sudden dissolution of Parliament astonished the Protector's friends and his enemies. 'His Highness,' wrote Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, 'surprised us all, not only us of the lower orb, but those of his council, most I am sure of them if not all, by putting an end to both the Houses of Parliament that Thursday morning.' In the same way Lord Broghil wrote to him of 'the unexpectedness of the late dissolution, and the ignorance the most knowing were in concerning it.'¹

As it filled Cromwell's friends with amazement, so, at first, it filled his enemies with exultation. Had Parliament continued to sit, jubilantly asserted a pamphleteer, 'it might have over-voted the lovers of freedom, and so have perfected their instrument of bondage, and riveted it on the necks of the good people for ever by a law, and thereby made them vassals and slaves perpetually. But the Lord hath in a great measure frustrated their wicked designs, blessed be His holy name.' Still more joyful were the Republicans over the untimely end of the new House of Lords. 'Thus,' said one, 'the two Houses fell together, their father, their good father, knocking his children on the head, and killing of them, because they were not towardly, but did wrangle one with another.'²

¹ Thurloe, vi. 788, 811.

² 'Second Narrative of the Late Parliament,' *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 472.

Another wrote that the Protector's 'doing such desperate things of his own head, and being secret even to his own secretary,' showed him to be at his wits' end; and that all things pointed to the speedy deliverance of the nation.¹

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Little less joyful, and as hopeful, were the Royalists. 'The present state of affairs is not to be described,' wrote one of their agents to Hyde, 'Cromwell himself being yet in suspense whether he shall depend on the Instrument, or Petition and Advice; and yet this doubt of his perplexes the lawyers, with all the sober part of the nation, beyond measure, there being in the interim no basis of government. The army (as he openly declared in his speech to both houses) is infected with sedition, his treasure exhausted by the necessary defence of the three kingdoms, which are no longer to be preserved without an immediate and liberal supply of money; his allies abroad their cold friends or close enemies; the people at home with an unwearied restless spirit of innovation, desiring they know not what; 20,000 men listed in London for the King, and with him a powerful force ready to set sail.' Yet a doubt disturbed Broderick's faith in his calculations, and darkened all his hopes. 'To speak freely to your Lordship the man is seemingly desperate, any other in his condition would be deemed irrecoverable, but as the dice of the gods never throw out, so is there something in the fortune of this villain that often renders ten to one no odds.'²

Ere long friend and foe had to own that the Protector knew what he was about when he dissolved Parliament. 'This we now see he was forced to do,' wrote Fauconberg, 'lest some turbulent spirits amongst them should

¹ Hobart to Berners, February 20. *English Historical Review*, vii. 110.

² Broderick to Hyde, February 16, 1657-8. *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 387.

CHAP. have put an end to the peace of this nation by embroiling
 {XII} it as far in blood and confusions as ever.'¹ 'If their
 1658 session had continued but two or three days longer,'
 wrote Hartlib to Pell, 'all had been in blood both in
 city and country upon Charles Stuart's account.'² By
 'the resolute sudden dissolving of the Parliament' all
 the designs of the enemy had been frustrated. 'The
 truth is,' said one of these enemies, 'he did the best for
 himself, for things began to look strangely and turn
 against him in the army and town by reason of the
 Parliament sitting.'³ It became clear that the Protector
 had seized the decisive moment for action with the swift
 and unerring judgment that he was wont to show in
 battle.

Having thus thrown the forces arrayed against him
 into confusion, it was now Cromwell's business to com-
 plete their rout and to prevent a similar coalition
 in the future. The first thing needful was to purge
 the army of hostile elements. On Saturday, February 6,
 the Protector called together all the officers in and
 about London to the number of about 200, and
 addressed them in a speech of about two hours long.
 He and they, said Cromwell, had gone along together;
 and why they should now differ he knew not. He
 then sketched the story of the civil wars, declared
 that his present authority was not of his seeking, and
 explained how, in the interest of the public safety,
 he had been obliged to dissolve the late Parliament.
 The officers answered the address with plaudits, re-
 solving once more 'to stand and fall, live and die with
 my Lord Protector.' He drank to them, and they
 drank to him in return; many bottles were emptied,

¹ Thurloe, vi. 788.

² Vaughan, ii. 442.

³ Berners to Hobart. *English Historical Review*, vii. 107; cf. *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 390.

and it seemed as if the satisfaction was general. But the old unanimity was gone. 'Deal plainly and freely with me,' said Cromwell; 'if any of you cannot in conscience conform to the new government, let him speak.'¹ An answer came from his own regiment of horse, whose commander, Major Packer, expressed his dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs, and said that all his captains were of the same mind. The Protector sent for them, and discoursed with them at large; all six 'declared their dislike of the present government, made several objections to it, and seemed to speak of the goodness of a commonwealth.' They seemed to think that there was something retrograde and tyrannical in the new constitution. One captain, though he was an Anabaptist, said plainly, that if he could not have liberty of conscience without the nation's losing their civil liberties, he would risk it, or seek for it elsewhere. Several times Cromwell strove to remove their scruples, arguing with them, both in private and before other officers. The last of these interviews took place on Thursday, February 11. They said that their dissatisfaction still remained, but that they were willing to remain in the army and to follow his Highness upon the grounds of the good old cause. The Protector asked them what they meant by the good old cause, and bade them instance one particular in which he had departed from it. To the surprise of the bystanders they declined the challenge, and kept still to general terms. At last he told them that as their temper and their spirits were, he thought it neither for their good nor for the safety of the nation that they should continue in their commands, and so cashiered all six.²

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¹ *English Historical Review*, vii. 109.

² *Clarke Papers*, iii. 139, 141; *Thurloe*, vi. 786, 789, 793, 806; *Carlyle's Cromwell*, ed. Lomas, iii. 509.

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This act created a great sensation. Monck wrote from Scotland saying that Packer was a dangerous man, and had got so many discontented officers and troopers in the regiment that it was 'the worst in the army for disaffection to the present government.'¹ Yet this was that very regiment which Cromwell himself had raised when the war began, the regiment of godly men, making a conscience of their business, and knowing what they fought for, which had covered itself with glory in every battle, and remained unshaken in every peril. Changed though the composition of the rank and file might be in the fifteen years of its life, its officers were men with whom Cromwell had been for years in close contact and familiar intercourse. Packer, who remembered the days when Cromwell had been the greatest anti-lord in England, indignantly declared to the next Parliament that he had been dismissed for refusing to own that this new-fangled Second Chamber the Protector had set up was a House of Lords. 'I thought it was not a "Lords' House" but "Another House." But for my undertaking to judge this I was sent for, accused of perjury, and outed of a place of £600 per annum. I would not give it up. He told me I was not apt. I, that had served him for fourteen years, ever since he was captain of a troop of horse, till he came to this power, and had commanded a regiment seven years; without any trial or appeal, with the breath of his nostrils, I was outed, and lost not only my place but a dear friend to boot. Five captains under my command, all of integrity, courage, and valour, were outed with me, because they would not comply; they could not say it was a House of Lords.'²

To opponents of the Protectorate this breach

¹ Thurloe, vi. 807.

² Burton, *Diary*, iii. 166.

between Cromwell and men who had followed him since the wars began, seemed a sign that a great revulsion of feeling was beginning which could not fail to have far-reaching consequences. Hobart noted 'two dawnings of truth,' which might bring deliverance to the nation. One was that the Independent churches began 'to see that they have been fooled under the specious pretence of liberty of conscience to betray the civil liberties of their own native country . . . and to repent of it.' The other was that 'there is some sense in the army how unworthy a thing it is to take pay to betray and enslave their country, and that all this oppression for so many years is for nothing but to set up a single and inconsiderable family; insomuch as the chief captain of his regiment told him, as the sense of the army, that they engaged upon another score, and that if a private family's interest is to be set up they would choose the right.'¹

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There was, however, as yet nothing to show that the officers in general approved of the line taken by Packer and his comrades. All the indications pointed the other way. The Fifth-Monarchy men scattered pamphlets appealing to the soldiers to rise against the Protector: 'Come, brethren and fellow-commoners, we are resolved in the strength of the Lord, if you will join with us, we will never divide from you, till the foundation of the Beast and its tyranny be overthrown.'² But their appeal roused no response. Rumours, which were swallowed with avidity by the Royalists, declared that Monck had refused to obey the Protector's orders and stood on the defensive. 'There is no colour for these

¹ *English Historical Review*, vii. 110.

² *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 339, February 18-25, 1658. A spurious manifesto called 'A Declaration of the English Army now in Scotland,' appealing to their brethren south of the Border to unite with them against the tyrant, was also circulated. This was probably written about the end of 1654.

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fancies,' wrote Thurloe to Lockhart, 'there being not a man in the three nations more loyal and dutiful to his Highness than he is, and to whom his Highness is more beholden for weeding out of the army troublesome and discontented spirits.'¹ Cromwell laughed at these rumours, and jested with Monck on the subject.² The regiments under Monck's command led the way in testimonials of fidelity to the Protector. From February to April, 1658, the newspapers contained every week addresses from regiments or garrisons in Scotland reiterating their confidence in Cromwell and his government.³ The English army followed a different plan, and instead of regimental addresses presented one general declaration from the whole body of officers. The procedure was simple. On March 24 all the general and field officers about London met in Whitehall. Fleetwood made a short speech showing how necessary it was for the army to be united, and produced the draft of an address which he read over twice to the meeting. Everybody was invited to give his opinion on it, and those who chose, to sign it. There was no discussion, however, for not a man made the least objection, and all present added their names to it. Two officers were then deputed to receive the signatures of those who were absent, and of the inferior officers in general. In all 224 signed, and on March 27 Fleetwood presented the address to Cromwell. 'We remain,' said they, 'notwithstanding the base calumnies and lies your and our enemies . . . have dispersed throughout the whole nation, firmly united one to another, and all of us to your Highness as our general and chief magistrate.' We hope 'that God hath so cemented us

¹ Thurloe, vi. 863; cf. vii. 232, 268.

² Guizot's *Monck*, p. 93; Price, in Maseres' *Tracts*, p. 712.

³ See *Mercurius Politicus* and *The Public Intelligencer* for those months. Mr. Catterall collects the references in a note, *American Historical Review*, ix. 56.

together as that neither the subtlety of Satan, nor the malice of crafty and ill-affected men, shall be able to sever us. We make it our earnest request to your Highness, that, as a mighty man strengthened by the Lord, you will run and not be weary in that race God hath set you in, till . . . you have settled the great ends of all our former engagements, our civil and spiritual liberty; which we hope is in a good measure well provided for by the Humble Petition and Advice. And in all your actings tending thereto we do heartily engage to stand by your Highness with our lives.’¹

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Those general officers and field officers of the Irish army who happened to be in Dublin about the middle of March, 1658, drew up a similar address. There was more discussion than there was in London. ‘Various forms were produced and scanned,’ and there was ‘much though moderate debate upon each of the several parts and wording of each’ before agreement was arrived at. The result was then circulated throughout the country to be signed by officers and men.² By this address the Irish army declared that the Lord had ‘by a continued series of providences’ marked out Cromwell for their governor and leader, and that they would ‘continue to strengthen his hands against all disturbers.’

‘We did not,’ said they, ‘take up war as a trade, esteeming it the worst remedy of the worst evils; wherefore to prevent the same for the future, and to deter such as would again embroil us therein, we do heartily and unanimously declare in the presence of the Lord, that we will stand by your Highness, as well against the particular animosities of turbulent spirits as other our professed enemies.’³ There were not a dozen

¹ The address is printed in *Mercurius Politicus*, under March 27, p. 419. See also *Clarke Papers*, iii. 143.

² Thurloe, vii. 21.

³ *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 623, June 17-24, 1658.

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dissenters to this address in the Irish army ; and of those who did dissent some were private soldiers and only one was a field officer. Major Low, of Colonel Cooper's regiment, opposed a clause desiring that the government should be settled upon such a basis as should be most suitable to the constitution of these nations, on the ground that the words implied a return to kingship. It was true, and that was the motive for its insertion, and one of the reasons which commended the address to the Irish officers in general. Other officers present at the Dublin meeting replied that in case kingship were most suitable to the constitution of these nations, then they would desire it. In this respect opinion in the Irish army was in advance of that of the English army, as the votes of the Irish members in the late Parliament had proved.¹

London and its citizen soldiers pledged their support to Cromwell with the same apparent zeal and unanimity. The Protector waited a little time before appealing to the City, but on Friday, March 12, he summoned the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to meet him at Whitehall. There, in a two hours' speech, he declared to them the imminent danger in which both City and nation were likely to be involved by reason of the contrivances of Charles Stuart and his party at home and abroad. Of these contrivances he had ample evidence by intercepted letters, by intelligence of their proceedings from beyond seas, and by the confession of divers persons concerned in the plot. What made the design still more manifest was that the Duke of Ormond had been hidden for three weeks together in London, to engage and encourage adherents, and to concert operations. He had only left London a few days ago.

Above all there was Charles Stuart himself, waiting

¹ Thurloe, vii. 21, 49, 71, 72, 142.

in Flanders to invade England with an army of about 8000 horse and foot quartered near the seaside. He had contracted for two and twenty ships to transport his army. As these were ships of no great burden they had some advantage over our ships, which were heavy and drew much water, and therefore obliged by reason of the sands to keep some distance from the Flemish coast. All the enemy waited for was some dark night, when the mist had covered the face of the sea, so that they could slip by the English fleet.

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Since the danger was so evident and so near, the City must provide for their own security and that of the nation; they must settle the control of the militia in the hands of well-affected men, put London in a posture of defence, and make ready to suppress all tumults and insurrections.¹

The citizens responded with alacrity. Whether they loved Cromwell or not, it was certain that they feared alarums and invasions. On March 17 they presented an address to the Protector in the name of the corporation, expressing the hope of 'a happy, lasting and well grounded form of government' which the Petition and Advice of the late Parliament had roused in their hearts. 'The old restless enemy,' said they, was hoping 'to execute his wrath and malice against the good and peaceful people of these three nations,' relying on 'the discontents of a brain-sick party at home,' and on 'the popish inveterate enemy abroad,' but they would stand by his Highness against both with their lives and fortunes.²

The petitioners meant what they said. The militia of the City was reorganised, and a new regiment added

¹ Thurloe, vii. 3, 4; Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ed. Lomas, iii. 510; *Mercurius Politicus*, March 11-18, 1658, p. 392.

² Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, ii. 350; iii. 453. *Mercurius Politicus*, March 11-18, p. 397.

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to it. The Tower Hamlets and Westminster augmented their forces also; and the militia commissioners and regimental officers presented a second address to the Protector on April 17, and heard from his lips the further history of the Royalist plot.¹

Great was the rage of the Anabaptists at this turn of events. 'Thou hast discovered unto us this treacherous city that they will live and die with this man of mischief,' said one Anabaptist preacher, addressing the Almighty. Oliver Cromwell, he added, was no magistrate or governor, for he was not made so by God or man, unless the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen had made him so. Cromwell was a juggler, and he would prove him so by a substantial witness.² Ex-Cornet Day, the preacher quoted, John Canne, and six other Fifth-Monarchy men were arrested on April 1, 1658, at their meeting-house in Coleman Street, committed to the Counter, and sentenced to pay a fine of £500 or to be imprisoned for a year.³ Another Fifth-Monarchy man, Christopher Feake, preached a sermon in which he compared Cromwell to Moses, Gideon, and Nehemiah, much to his disadvantage—Gideon, for instance, said Feake, was a very great general. 'Let us see what he did after he had destroyed the enemies of the Lord and Israel. The army and people desired him to be their ruler; yet this good man, a valiant general, replied, I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you, but the Lord shall rule over you. From whence did this proceed? Surely from the spirit of God.

'Look at Nehemiah, who was governor of the Jews for many years in Jerusalem, yet he ate not the bread of

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 143; *Mercurius Politicus*, April 15-22, p. 468.

² Thurloe, vii. 5, 18.

³ *A Narrative wherein is faithfully set forth the sufferings of John Canne Wentworth Day, &c.*, 1658.

government, and refused the forty shekels of silver they offered him, because he feared the Lord. Observe that the magistrate in a free state, where the fear of the Lord was, never laid tax upon the people; but they unasked gave him what they thought he had need of. Now from all these three valiant and good men you may observe that the fear of the Lord was still before their eyes, and they had no other design but to deliver the people, and make them to be governed by the Lord God. This was the constant method of all God's generals, and they that tell you otherwise would do well to take away our Bible and give us another; for we cannot justify the present proceedings out of this Bible; and we must profess that as long as we believe this to be the Word of God, we must allow of no other government than the government of our Lord God and Jesus Christ.¹ The government naturally did not relish this oblique attack on the Protector, and Feake was accordingly silenced and confined for about a month.²

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More dangerous than the agitation amongst the Fifth-Monarchy men was the movement amongst the Royalists, which threatened in February, 1658, to develop into an insurrection much more general than the abortive rising of 1655. Although straitened for money, the Spanish ministers in Flanders were really disposed to assist the King's long postponed expedition. Don Juan, reported Bristol to Ormond in September, 1657, 'was pleased to deal very freely with me, and to tell me that the present sum of money designed for the business of England was a hundred thousand crowns, and fifty thousand for the King's equipage and his brother's.' This was not sufficient, the Prince owned, for a great expedition such as was promised in the treaty; but it

¹ Thurloe, vii. 58; cf. *Mercurius Politicus*, April 22-29, p. 480.

² *Clarke Papers*, iii. 146; *Mercurius Politicus*, April 8-15, p. 453.

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was enough to make a beginning, if Charles II was sure of a port, and would enable him to hold it till reinforcements came. A port once secured, the King need not doubt that they understood their own interests well enough 'to apply the whole army and money for this country, and the great fleet preparing in Spain to the sole business of England, rather than fail of making good any footing taken there.'¹

This and similar promises were sufficient to satisfy the ministers of Charles II of the good faith of Spain, and to justify them in encouraging their friends to fresh efforts. For it was only by the devotion and daring of the King's followers in England that the necessary port could be secured. At first, however, there was considerable difficulty in persuading the Royalists to make a new effort. After the postponement of the intended invasion in the spring of 1657 they had relapsed into a sort of lethargy. They had begun to doubt whether there was any hope of ever shaking off the yoke of the Protector, or any real prospect of the King's coming over from Flanders to deliver them. Hyde bitterly complained of their apathy, of the little information they sent the King about affairs in England, and of their reluctance to trust each other and to co-operate together. Writing to one of his agents in England, he said: 'As our friends there want assistance from hence, so we want some credit and reputation from thence; whereas our friends want so much confidence in each other that they very rarely confer together, or send us advice what we should do, or assurance what part they are ready to bear, but seem so heartbroken, as if they looked only for redress from some extraordinary act of providence, rather than from any endeavour of their own;

¹ *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 367. September 21, 1657.

and if they be not a little roused up from that temper, all that can be expected from here will not do our work ; but if the King should land to-morrow with as good an army as can reasonably be hoped for, he will be overpowered as he was at Worcester, whilst all men sit still, and look for the effect of the first battle. Therefore, if it were possible, they should be prevailed with in all places to meet with such confidence in one another (two or three in a county would be enough) that the King might know what he might reasonably depend upon from them when he comes himself, and what they will be able and resolve to do upon any notable accidents and distempers at home.' ¹

This apathy was mainly prevalent amongst the older Cavaliers and the Council called the Sealed Knot which governed them. Younger men, less able to measure the strength of their opponents, less dejected by repeated disappointments, and by nature less prudent, were ready to risk their lives for the King without too nicely calculating the chances of success. Those most concerned in the plots of the winter of 1657-8 were described by a supporter of the government as 'new sprung up Cavaliers, such as young gentlemen lately come to their lands and estates.'² One sign of this was the arrest in August, 1657, of two Shropshire gentlemen, 'younger sons of ancient popish families,' found trying to enlist horsemen for a rising, and provided with commissions from Charles II of very recent date (March 31, 1657).³

A still more dangerous symptom was the growing tendency of the Presbyterians to forget their former hostility to the Royalists, and to unite with them in

¹ Hyde to Rumbold, September 12, 1657. *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 364.

² *Clarke Papers*, iii. 147.

³ *Ib.* iii. 115 ; Thurloe, vii. 33. Their names were William Astley and Charles Gifford. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 51, 155.

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the movement for the restoration of Charles II. Few even of the leaders, and fewer of the rank and file, were prepared to take action, but their temper was unmistakable. Waller, Browne, and other heads of the Presbyterian party had been suspected ever since 1647, and since 1654 there had been vague rumours that Fairfax was disaffected to the Protector's government and intriguing with Royalist agents.¹ The marriage of the Duke of Buckingham with Fairfax's daughter seemed to justify these rumours. Buckingham came over to England in the spring of 1657, in the hope of making his peace with the government and recovering his forfeited estates.² It was generally reported that he was to marry one of the Protector's daughters, probably Frances, as the seal of his adhesion to the Protectorate. When he married Mary Fairfax instead, it was considered, so far as his own interests were concerned, a very prudent step. 'I think he has done very wisely,' wrote Colonel Bamfield, 'for if he has leave to stay in England, he will have a good estate, and his father-in-law's interest, which is thought very considerable, to employ as shall be thought convenient; if he be forced to quit it he is sure of an honourable subsistence, and my lord Protector of two considerable enemies.'³ On the other hand the Protector's advisers regarded the alliance as a danger to the government. Some of the Council declared, as one of Fairfax's friends told him, 'that it was a Presbyterian plot, and my lady Vere made the match, and went purposely, with four ministers in a coach with her, into Yorkshire, to persuade him to it.'⁴ The Protector showed no dissatisfaction, promised that the Duke should have his

¹ Thurloe, vi. 124, 642, 706, 809.

² *Ib.* vi. 363; *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 40.

³ Thurloe, vi. 566. The marriage took place on September 7, 1657.

⁴ *Ib.* vi. 617.

liberty, and undertook to propose to Parliament an Act for the restoration of his estates. In the meantime it seems to have been made a condition that the Duke should reside in the country. When he broke this stipulation and came to London, the Council ordered that he should be apprehended and sent prisoner to Jersey (October 9). The Protector allowed but disliked this decision, wished the Council to grant the Duke his liberty, and endeavoured in every way to oblige Fairfax in the matter.¹ Nevertheless Fairfax was deeply incensed, and the hopes of his adhesion grew high amongst the Royalists. It was reported that Lord Fairfax 'had expressed himself sensible of the condition of himself and family and of his usage by the Protector; and said, that he thought since the dissolving of the [Long] Parliament, which was broke up wrongfully, there was nothing but shifting, and a kind of confusion; and that he knew not but he might choose by his old commission as general to appear in arms on behalf of the people of these nations.'² Cheered by this hope the Royalist agents did not hesitate to approach other leaders of the Presbyterians; and sanguine men became confident of a more general movement against the Protector than any which had previously taken place.³

As the autumn of 1657 went on, and the moment drew nearer when the cessation of the operations in Flanders and the withdrawal of the English blockading ships would render an expedition feasible, the hopes of the Royalists rose high. Old designs for the seizure of Gloucester or Bristol, or some port on the east coast,

¹ Thurloe, vi. 616; *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 124, 168, 196. The Duke did not obtain his liberty till April, 1658. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 357.

² Thurloe, vi. 706. Information dated December 25, 1657, evidently derived by Thurloe from Willis.

³ See Thurloe, vi. 579, 599, 628, for the government's knowledge of the plot.

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such as Yarmouth or Hull, were once more revived. New designs were formed for risings in London and the adjacent counties. In London one of the most active members of the committee which managed the King's affairs was Dr. John Hewitt, an ex-chaplain of Charles I, who by the connivance of the Protector's government was allowed to hold the living of St. Gregory's in St. Paul's Churchyard. Hewitt was noted for the excellence of his elocution. One admirer speaks of the sweetness of his voice and his devout, grave, and distinct pronounciation; another terms him 'doctor mellifluus, doctor altivolans, et doctor inexhaustibilis.' He attracted many hearers, and acquired great influence amongst the Royalists of London, which he employed to advance the King's cause. He collected money for transmission to Charles II, kept a correspondence with Flanders by trusty messengers, and procured commissions for promising young men. But he was too rash, and too poor a judge of men and things, to make a good conspirator. 'The doctor,' said one of Thurloe's spies, 'is rather a Tully than a Catiline, and hath been more prevalent with his tongue than his brain.'¹

In April, 1657, Hewitt communicated his design to John Stapley, a young gentleman of Sussex, whom he thought to be a desirable recruit. Stapley's father had represented Sussex in the Long Parliament, and had been one of the late King's judges; but his mother was a sister of Lord Goring, and his grandmother the widow of one of the defenders of Colchester. The influence of his Royalist relations made young Stapley accessible

¹ Thurloe, i. 718; vii. 66. Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xv. 101. Lloyd, *Lives of Eminent Personages*, p. 553; *Life of John Barwick*, p. 175. Evelyn, *Diary*, September 28, 1653. He was the author of a little volume entitled *Prayers of Intercession for their use who mourn in secret for the Public Calamities of this Nation*, published in 1659.

to Hewitt's arguments, and the doctor played upon his fears by telling him that the success of the design was certain, and that if he did not engage in it he would be a lost man, on account of his father's sins against the King. He also tempted him with the promise of a baronetcy, and after several interviews persuaded him to accept a commission as colonel of horse signed by Charles II, and three others to be disposed of to suitable persons. Stapley, as senior colonel, was to be commander-in-chief of the forces of the county, in spite of his youth and inexperience. For he had large estates, and had twice represented Sussex in Parliament; moreover, he was held a moderate man, and it was said that 'many would rise with him who would not follow the Cavaliers.' The details of the plan were revealed by Hewitt during the winter of 1657. Charles II was certainly coming over with 8000 men under the command of Marsin; they were to bring good store of arms for arming their friends, and palisadoes ready made to fortify the place where they landed, which would probably be Yarmouth. Over twenty ships were in readiness to bring them over; and, though the precise date of the expedition was not fixed, a fortnight's notice would be given to enable the King's friends to prepare. This landing would oblige the Protector to draw his forces away from London, and then the citizens would shut their gates and rise in arms. His own particular business, said Hewitt, lay in the City, and his part was to be played there, so he could only give him a general account of the rest of the plot. The Royalists in the adjacent counties were to come to the aid of the Londoners. Sir William Waller was to head the rising in Kent. In Sussex, Colonel Gunter, Colonel Bishop, and many other gentlemen were to join with Stapley. As for Surrey, Sir Francis Vincent, Mr. Adam Browne, and Mr. John

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Mordaunt were engaged in the design. Hopes were held out also that Fairfax and others would take part in the movement.

Stapley made some preparations for action; he engaged Henry Mallory to be major of his regiment, and promised captains' commissions to his brother Anthony Stapley and one Thomas Woodcock. He also discussed the surprising of Lewes and Chichester; but what Woodcock termed his 'imbecility in martial affairs' prevented him from organising the forces of disaffection in any effective way.¹ A more serious conspirator was John Mordaunt, a younger son of the Earl of Peterborough, who managed the Surrey business. He was a young gentleman 'of parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful lady, of a very loyal spirit and notable vivacity of wit and humour, who concurred with him in all honourable dedication of himself.'² His energy made him formidable, and, as he was more daring and a better judge of men than Stapley, he was more likely to achieve something and less likely to be betrayed.

One of the great difficulties, however, was the division existing between the different sections of the King's party in England. The older and more experienced Royalists of the Sealed Knot distrusted the zealous leaders of the younger Royalists, and inveighed against their rashness and precipitation, saying that they 'would ruin themselves and all people who should join with them.' On the other hand, the emissaries of the young Royalists 'complained much of the backwardness of

¹ See Stapley's examinations, Thurloe, vii. 65, 88; the trial of Woodcock, ib. vii. 162; and other depositions in the same volumes. For the first reference to Stapley in the correspondence of the King's agents, see *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 281, April, 1657; there is also a letter from Stapley to the King dated November 20, 1657, thanking him for the commission, ib. iii. 388.

² Clarendon, xvi. 93.

those who were most trusted by the King.' The two sections would neither confer nor correspond.¹

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In this extremity Charles II resolved to send over a man of authority to communicate with the heads of both sections, to examine the feasibility of their plans, to persuade them to be quiet or induce them to co-operate, and to conduct them himself in any reasonable enterprise. The Marquis of Ormond, whose good sense could be relied upon, and whose courage made him indifferent to every personal danger, offered himself for this mission. The King accepted his offer, and, while it was publicly given out that Ormond had been sent to raise troops in Germany, the Marquis slipped away into Holland, hired a vessel, and set out for England. He landed in Essex about the end of January, 1658, just about a week before Parliament was dissolved.²

The secret of this perilous mission was well kept. Ormond neglected no precaution to conceal his rank and disguise his person. In the country inn where he took up his quarters after landing, he spent the night in playing at shuffleboard with four Suffolk maltsters, and drank warm ale with them till morning. Next day, with a nightcap on his head, his fine hat concealed under a green hatcase, and his portmanteau strapped behind his saddle, he jogged on to London like a country squire coming up for a few days' pleasure in town. He chose

¹ Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xv. 85.

² Clarendon says: 'He himself with only one servant and O'Neill (who had inflamed him very much to that undertaking) took the way of Holland and hired a bark at Schevelin, in which they embarked and were safely landed in Essex; from whence without any trouble they got to London, whilst the Parliament was still sitting.'—*Rebellion*, xv. 87.

In an undated letter, endorsed by Hyde 'February 5,' Ormond says he arrived 'Saturday last,' and speaks of 'the breaking of the Parliament,' which took place on February 4-14. The Saturday before the dissolution was January 30. Macray dates Ormond's arrival February 2, N.S., which would be January 23, O.S., but the letter could not possibly have been written before February 4, and it seems clear that he arrived the Saturday before the dissolution.

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his lodgings carefully, looking out always for a hiding-place or a handy back-door, and lying down to sleep every night in his clothes. He gave himself none of the mysterious airs of a stage conspirator, and showed no pride, but drank sack with his host or hostess, and told them he was a discarded officer with the respectable Roundhead name of Pickering. Only one mischance befel him. For a long time he wore a peruke to conceal his identity, but finding it a troublesome and an insufficient disguise, he determined to dye his hair. Another Cavalier gave him a mixture warranted to turn his locks black; unluckily 'aquafortis' was so predominant in it that it not only changed his hair into a variety of colours, but also scalded his head, and gave him a great deal of trouble.¹

Thanks to these various devices Ormond escaped the vigilance of Thurloe's police. The Secretary's spies informed him that Ormond had gone to treat with the King of the Romans on behalf of Charles II, and the English envoy at the Hague reported that he had passed through Cologne on his way to Prague.² Meanwhile the Marquis had put himself in communication with the Royalist leaders in London, and cross-examined them about their arms and their resources.

On examination every particular scheme proved hopeless. The business of Gloucester was off, and there was no probability that the design against Bristol could be effected.³

Worse still was Ormond's report as to the temper of the Presbyterians, 'upon whom we most depended and under whose shelter and protection his Majesty's friends generally were to rise.'⁴ There were two parties amongst their leaders. Manchester, Lord Denbigh,

¹ Carte, *Life of Ormond*, iii. 666.

³ Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 122.

² Thurloe, vi. 730, 732, 757.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. 119.

Waller, Rossiter, and the moderate party would be contented with a promise of security for their lives and estates from the King. Lord Say, Lord Robartes, and the severer party demanded that Charles should confirm the articles agreed to by his father in the Newport treaty, or some equivalent conditions. Hyde and the people in Flanders had built great hopes on the support of Colonel Alexander Popham and Colonel Richard Norton, men who had fought for the Parliament in the first civil war, and possessed great influence in the West of England. But Popham would not even receive the King's letter which his Royalist friends were charged to deliver; and it was pretty clear that Norton would follow the lead of his father-in-law, Lord Say. In any case the Presbyterian leaders, however dissatisfied they might be with the present government, 'would not be persuaded to declare till the King should first be landed.'¹

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Ormond therefore judged it useless to encourage the young Royalists of London and the neighbourhood to rise. He would not even see Hewitt. 'I did not speak with Dr. Hewet because the securing of all places failed, without which Stapley's business would not do ours; and besides I was assured by one that knew him and his interest well, that it was impossible he could perform near his lowest undertaking.' The men were loyal and devoted enough: 'not want of will, but want of skill' prevented them from making good their promises. Moreover, without the aid of Popham and his party they could do nothing of any use.²

Under these circumstances a rising would be hopeless. The old Royalists would have risen without the Presbyterians, if Ormond could have undertaken that the King

¹ See Ormond's letter of February 5 (*Clarendon MSS.*), and Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 119, 122, 125, 128, 130, 131; cf. Thurloe, vii. 49.

² Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 123, 130. Ormond's letter of February 5.

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would have landed in any other part of the kingdom, and so made a diversion within twenty days from their taking up arms; but they did not believe that they could hold out longer by themselves. He was not satisfied that they could hold out so long, and therefore thought it fit not to encourage but to restrain them from taking up arms. There was not, he said emphatically, 'any one design as to the taking of any one place that could justify my engaging so many persons as were willing to rise with all the force they could make; which without some place to receive and cover them had been to expose them to inevitable ruin and the King's counsels to irreparable and shameful derision.'

Nevertheless there was some gleam of hope. Though it was impossible to make any considerable rising, 'yet nothing is more certain than that there are all the inclinations possible towards it, and that more general than I could have believed without the proof of my senses.'¹ The King's landing was the necessary preliminary to any general movement, and Yarmouth might be easily surprised. 'If I have any judgment it leads me to be confident that, if the King can land but with the force and provisions promised at or near Yarmouth, he will carry it before it can be succoured (especially if it be before Cromwell shall have composed the disorders occasioned by his breaking the Parliament); and by that gain reputation enough to gather a force sufficient to do (I think) his own business, and (I am sure) the King of Spain's.'² Ormond said that he was ready to pass over again to the West of England to head the rising that would infallibly follow the King's landing.

Ormond wrote this from Dieppe on February 19 (O.S.) or March 1 (N.S.). He had found London too hot to hold

¹ Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 118, 120, 122.

² *Ib.* ii. 123; cf. ii. 118, 134.

him. The government had become aware that he was concealed in the City. 'Ormond,' wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell on February 16, 'was in this town some days very lately, to lay their matters; but I do hear that things did not answer his expectation, which it seems was great. I got knowledge of his business but could not come at his person.' Sir Richard Willis, who had informed Thurloe that Ormond was in London, 'could not be induced to say where his lodging was,' though he undertook that his mission should be ineffectual.¹ The government, it was said, seized the ship which lay next to Ormond's, but missed that which actually carried him.²

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Ormond's report about the ease with which Yarmouth could be seized, and the results which would follow the King's landing, was so positive that it had considerable effect. King Charles told the Spanish ministers firmly 'that he saw such solid grounds for the venturing himself and his rest upon the design, that he was resolved to do it, unless they flatly denied him the means.' They on their part, finding their own intelligence from England said that a revolution was probable, and thinking that 'the appearance of a considerable embarkation' would at least prevent Cromwell from sending more forces to Flanders, or going on with the design against Dunkirk, came on March 25 to a final resolution that all things should be embarked during the next few days, so that the ships might be ready to set sail at a moment's notice.³

Bristol, who conducted the negotiations with the

¹ Thurloe, vi. 806; vii. 4. Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xv. 86-91; xvi. 28.

² Vaughan, ii. 451. Cromwell in the speech quoted on p. 50, ante, is represented as saying that Ormond left England on Tuesday, March 9 (O.S.). But if his letter from Dieppe is correctly dated, Ormond must have left on February 17 or 18 (O.S.).

³ Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 124, 127, 134.

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Spanish ministers, was full of confidence, and urged Ormond to get ready to return to England. But the time for the expedition had now passed. During February it had been possible; for the weather had driven Sparling's squadron off the coast, and for some weeks the wind had been favourable and the Flemish ports unblockaded.¹ But, as usual, the Spaniards had been behindhand in their preparations and were not ready then to take advantage of the opportunity. The vessels which were to transport Charles II's soldiers to the English coast had been hired in Holland, but were not engaged soon enough to bring them into Ostend before the frost began. When the weather changed they sailed for Ostend, but it was too late. On February 27, Vice-Admiral Goodson, with twelve English frigates, appeared before Ostend, and recommenced the blockade of that port. Next day he espied five of these Dutch ships trying to get into Ostend, captured three of them and drove the other two ashore.² The Spanish minister asserted that this loss was of little account, saying that the ships they had in the port already would suffice to carry the expedition over to the coast of Norfolk. Hyde, however, abandoned hope. It was not so much the dilatoriness of the Spaniards, or the capture of the transports, as the presence of Goodson's frigates which rendered the expedition impossible. Even if the Spanish ministers were willing to dispatch it without waiting for a rising in England the project was practically hopeless. 'You can well enough judge,' he wrote to O'Neill, whom Ormond had left behind in England, 'what these people are like to do, or what they or we can be able to do, while these frigates ride there; yet they profess

¹ Vol. i., p. 300; cf. Thurloe, vii. 39.

² Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 124, 126, 135; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 392, 396.

that all things shall be ready against an opportunity, and seem to believe their own interest enough concerned to advance our designs ; but I must tell you freely that, except somewhat be effectually begun in England, either on the King's behalf, or an engagement in blood amongst themselves (which possibly were the more desirable and would bring on the other) which would call away these frigates, I do not look that they here will promote or permit any attempt from hence.' ¹ Under these circumstances the postponement of the attempt was inevitable. 'If all must be quiet there till we begin from hence, we are to blame if we do not see clearly that we must defer it till next winter.' ²

'Nothing will be begun in England unless some accident give rise to it,' answered Ormond, advising at the same time that O'Neill and all other emissaries should be called home.³ Accordingly O'Neill was summoned back to Flanders, and told that there was no depending on the Spaniards, and that the business was deferred till the next winter. He returned reluctantly, for he was 'full of negotiations,' had 'set many treaties on foot' with the Presbyterian leaders ; and had 'a wonderful confidence that the work would be easily done if the King was there.' ⁴

It was high time for the King's agents to be recalled, for England grew daily more unsafe. On March 3 the Protector had issued one of the usual proclamations

¹ To O'Neill, March 22 : *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 392. In the same spirit he wrote to Broderick, another Royalist agent in England : 'To deal freely with you, if some good accident in England do not give us advantage there and call away these vessels, we shall not be able to make an original attempt from hence ; but if they go together by the ears among themselves or any place declare for us we shall then quickly be with you.' March 30 : *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 397.

² Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 132.

³ *Ib.* ii. 133.

⁴ The letter ordering him to return is dated April 4 (i.e. March 25, O.S.) (*Clarendon MSS.*).

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which appeared when a rising was feared. It ordered all popish recusants, and all persons who had fought for Charles I or his son, to repair to their usual places of abode, and not to remove more than five miles from those places.¹ The Cavaliers, excepting those few who could procure licence to stay, had to leave London and return to the country, where they could be easily watched. The order did not remain a dead letter. On March 24 the City and the suburbs for four miles round were rigidly searched and a number of arrests were made.² On Monday, March 21, Sir William Waller and Major Robert Harley were sent for by the Council; and though Waller was dismissed, Harley was committed to the Tower.³ Harley was suspected as one of the chief intermediaries between the Presbyterians and the Royalists, and as the supposed agent of the marriage between Buckingham and Fairfax's daughter. About the middle of April Colonel John Russell and Sir William Compton, two of the leaders of the Sealed Knot, were committed to the Tower, and the same fate befell Dr. John Hewitt.⁴ In the provinces there were many arrests; and minor precautions, such as the prohibition of race meetings for the next eight months, were put in force to prevent gatherings of the Royalist gentry.⁵ Everywhere the county militia and its commanders were on the alert. Travelling became difficult for Royalists. 'There is no marching in the country any way,' wrote one of Hyde's correspondents

¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, February 25-March 4, p. 365. See also the poem entitled *The Delinquent's Passport*, British Museum, 669, f. 20 (76).

² *Mercurius Politicus*, March 18-25, p. 414; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 144.

³ *Ib.* iii. 145; *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 429. For Harley's examination, see Thurloe, vii. 20.

⁴ *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 453. Hewitt was sent to the Tower on April 8. Thurloe, vii. 63.

⁵ For the prohibition of horse races, see *Clarke Papers*, iii. 130, 147. For other measures of repression, Thurloe, vi. 710, 711, 727; vii. 13, 41-4.

on April 23, 'for all who look like gentlemen are secured.'¹

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The government was well informed as to the designs of the conspirators. Besides Willis, Thurloe had engaged since the summer of 1657 the services of another spy, a clergyman named Francis Corker, who, whilst pretending to be a devoted Royalist, kept him informed of the progress of the plot, and supplied him with particulars which Willis omitted.²

Stapley was arrested about the end of March, and was personally examined by the Protector. After denying at first all share in the plot, his courage broke down and he confessed all he knew. A series of arrests took place amongst the gentlemen of Sussex and Surrey, and in their examinations the details of the plot were laid bare. By the end of April the government knew all that was to be known about it.

On April 9 Thurloe wrote to the English agent in Holland, telling him that the Royalists had put off the design against Yarmouth and the insurrection in England till the following September. 'However their party here, those of them that are considerable, shall be all secured, and it is now under consideration what shall be done with that whole party; for we must now always be at this pass with them. It has pleased God to give us great light into their affairs and designs, both as to persons and things.' 'We are now able,' he told Henry Cromwell on April 20, 'to make the intentions of the enemy, both as to their invading us from Flanders, and their insurrections here, as evident and demonstrable as if they had actually done both. Besides what the Cavaliers were to do there, there

¹ *Clarendon MSS.*

² Corker's Letters are collected in Thurloe, i. 707-20. At the Restoration Corker wrote a lying apology for his conduct, dated June 10, 1660. It is printed in *The Retrospective Review*, second series, i. 292.

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was a third party, who were never engaged for C. Stuart, that were most of all depended upon, as Sir W. Waller, Harley, John Mordaunt, both the sons of old Colonel Stapley of Sussex, with many others; and the head of these should have been the Lord Fairfax, whom I cannot say they had engaged, but promised themselves much from his discontents. They were also sure of the Earl of Oxford. We here can scarce believe, but that we see it with our own eyes, that some men should hanker this way, who seem to be too far engaged. It will teach everybody here to be very wary whom they trust. These discoveries being so manifest, and also the danger to the whole nation, hath engaged his Highness and the Council to secure the heads and chiefs of all the malignant party, and intend to keep them secured until there can be some effectual provision made against their attempts for the future, that we may not be continually at this pass with them every year; and this must be by Parliament; to which purpose I think a parliament will be summoned very shortly, where this, and other matters, are to be treated on.'

'We have made sure of the Cavaliers,' he added on April 27, 'having most of them under strict guards in the several counties, and are resolved never to let them go until the nation be secured against them; judging it very unreasonable, that we should be alarmed once every year with invasions and insurrections by them. This security from them must be had in Parliament; and I doubt not but that we are able to state their case so to the Parliament that they will do reason therein. We have a very clear discovery of a very dangerous plot laid by them of a general rising, and they have enticed many young gentlemen that were never before of their party.'¹

¹ Thurloe, vii. 83, 99.

It was decided to proceed against the offenders under the Act passed by the last Parliament for the security of the Lord Protector's person and the continuance of the nation in peace. That Act empowered the Protector to appoint commissioners for the judgment of conspirators.¹ On April 13 the Council of State advised the Protector to appoint such a Court, and the commission passed the Great Seal on April 27.² A proclamation, dated May 4, summoned the commissioners to meet in the Painted Chamber at Westminster on Wednesday, May 12.³

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The persons appointed consisted of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the judges, Speaker Lenthall, and about 140 others, members of the upper and lower houses of the late Parliament, lawyers, soldiers, aldermen and other Puritan notables. Seventeen were sufficient under the Act to form a quorum; but it was necessary to appoint a considerable number because it was known that many persons would decline to sit from scruples about the legality of the Act, or fear of the consequences of their action. The judges all refused to take part. 'The men of law in general,' wrote a Royalist, 'are no friends to this High Court of Justice, it being so contrary to all rules of law and many acts of Parliament quoted by them.'⁴ A newsletter alleges that the judges did not sit because they thought that by the Act the prisoners ought to be tried by a jury.⁵ Whitelocke, who was consulted by the Protector, 'advised him rather to have them proceeded against in the

¹ Scobell, ii. 372.

² *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 365, 383; *ib.* 1658-9, pp. 5, 16.

³ Proclamation dated May 4, *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 515, published May 8. A list of the Court is given in *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 493, under April 27. The oath to be taken by the commissioners is printed in the same journal, p. 501.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1658-9, p. 21.

⁵ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 151. Cf. Vaughan, ii. 460, and *Fifth Report, Historical MSS. Comm.*, p. 181.

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ordinary course of trials at the common law; but his Highness was too much in love with the new way and thought it would be the more effectual and would the more terrify the offenders.’¹

John Lisle, Whitelocke’s fellow-Commissioner of the Great Seal, was not so scrupulous, and undertook the invidious duty of presiding over the Court. In all some fifty persons proved willing to act.² No doubt some of those who wavered were convinced of the necessity of backing up the government by the discovery of a new plot in their midst. The Court held a formal preliminary meeting on May 12, and then adjourned itself till May 17. In the interval came the revelation about the new plot for a rising in London itself, which had been allowed to develop till it was ready to break out.³

The last hopes of the Cavaliers lay in a rising in London. At the beginning of the war the City had been ardently Parliamentary, and none had been more zealous against the King than the apprentices. But now things had changed. According to Clarendon ‘the putting many gentlemen’s sons as apprentices into the city, since the beginning of troubles, had made a great alteration in the general talk of that people. It was upon this kind of material that many honest men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from officers of the army who were as little to be depended upon.’⁴ There were many apprentices amongst

¹ Whitelocke, iv. 331.

² At a preliminary meeting on May 25, some thirty commissioners were present, according to a newsletter (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 151). Lisle, in answering Dr. Hewitt’s objections to the constitution of the Court on June 1, said that ‘the Act of Parliament had appointed seventeen or more to be a quorum, and that now above three times as many commissioners as seventeen were present in the Court’ (*Mercurius Politicus*, May 27–June 3, p. 568).

³ Bordeaux writes, May 17–27, saying: ‘Many believe the rumour is only to excite malice against the Royalists and determine the judges of the Court to sit, concerning which they have hitherto made difficulties.’

⁴ Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xv. 88.

the City plotters arrested in May, 1658; it was observable that those of them in custody were 'either the sons of old Cavaliers or else such debauched fellows that their masters could not rule or govern them.'¹ Their leaders were for the most part merchants or tradesmen, and not men of much wealth or great influence in the City. In the autumn of 1657, when their designs began to take shape, they found themselves slighted and to some extent mistrusted by the gentlemen of the adjacent counties, and by men of higher position amongst the Cavalier party. Carleton, their agent, complained of it to Charles II, and said that the citizens meant to go on in spite of such discouragement. 'I shall make bold to tell you the resolution of our citizens upon it in their own language: "Well, since these men are so proud we value not their persons; we will not desert the King's business though they do. It is not men's titles that will restore the King, but such men's courage and affections as will (with their swords in their hands) run all rational hazards to do his work for him, when he will give order to have it done. We are men enough for this design to seize and make good this city, and when this design comes to be acted, let us not own them then that disclaim us now, nor let them share in the honour of this work (what commands soever they may pretend) that will not appear with us at the first rising."'"² So the City plot went on side by side with the plot for risings in Surrey, Sussex, and other counties, and there were only vague arrangements for joint action. Dr. Hewitt and Mr. John Mordaunt were the links between the different sections; and there was a vague report that when the time for action came, some officer of quality would place

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¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, May 13-20, p. 541.

² *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 370; cf. *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, iii. 372. This memorial was presented about October, 1657.

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himself at the head of the citizens. In the meantime their leaders were citizens like themselves. There was one Colonel William Deane, of Staines, a busy bustling person who rode up and down very solicitously to engage men. He said he had 600 men in readiness, and was very much incensed against the official agents of the King, saying that 'they minded their own pleasures and profits, and not the King's business.' But towards the close of 1657 he was either arrested or ran away.¹ In his place Robert Manley, a Turkey merchant in Threadneedle Street, took the lead and obtained a commission as colonel of horse from Charles II, dated at Bruges January 28, 1658. Sir William Leighton, one of the defenders of Colchester in 1648, was also to command a regiment of horse, whilst John Sumner and Edward Ashton, two merchants, received commissions as colonels of foot. 'An ancient man in grey clothes,' a minister who sometimes called himself Carleton, sometimes Roberts, was very active amongst the conspirators. This was Guy Carleton, an ex-Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, who became, after the Restoration, Dean of Carlisle and Bishop of Chichester.²

After many meetings in taverns and eating-houses the plotters decided that the time was ripe, and fixed Saturday, May 15, for the rising. At eleven at night, when the chimes went at Bow Church, in Cheapside, and at St. Michael's at Cornhill, it was to be put into execution. The plotters were to wear a white tape round the arm in order to know each other. All had their parts assigned to them. Leighton, with the help of Edward Southcote, a draper in St. Paul's Churchyard, was to surprise the guard stationed there. Manley, in the middle of the City, was to arrest the Lord Mayor

¹ Thurloe, i. 709, 712-14, 717, 719, 720.

² Ib. vii. 147.

and Sheriffs, Sumner to seize the arms and ammunition in the Artillery Ground, others to secure London Bridge and attempt to surprise the Tower. The horses in the inn-stables were to be seized to provide mounts. All money in the public treasuries was to be appropriated and the plate in the goldsmiths' shops was to be devoted to the cause, but no private plundering was to be permitted. Nevertheless there was talk of breaking open the prisons and letting out all the rogues and thieves to augment the numbers of the insurgents, in which case it would have been impossible to prevent robbery and disorder.¹

The government was aware of the intended rising. Corker from time to time had supplied some vague information of the progress of the plot in the City,² and on Friday, May 14, he told Morland, Thurloe's secretary, that they certainly meant to rise the next night.³ The government at once took its measures. On Saturday morning the guards were doubled at May 15 Whitehall, and at all other posts about London. All the regiments of horse and foot were ordered to be under arms by five o'clock in the evening, and at night the regiments of trained bands were called out.⁴ About midday Colonel Barkstead marched out of the Tower into the City with his regiment of foot and five 'running drakes' prepared to suppress at once any seditious gathering. Patrols searched the inns and lodging houses for suspected persons. 'In one desperate malignant alehouse' Barkstead discovered 'four genteel fellows' who could give no account of why they were met or what their means of livelihood were. In another he took one Major Cane, once an officer of the Royalist

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¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, May 13-20, pp. 532, 541; June 10-17, p. 593; Thurloe, vii. 137, 147.

² Thurloe, i. 709, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 719.

³ *Ib.* i. 715.

⁴ *Mercurius Politicus*, May 13-20, p. 532; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 150.

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garrison at Wallingford, and accounted 'one of the stoutest officers of that garrison,' and two others. Cane had lodged for three months in a cookshop 'in the midst of the butchers at Aldgate,' ready to lead a contingent of young butchers when the moment came. In all some forty or fifty prisoners were made, and Colonel Barkstead said that if it had not been for the beating up of the drums and the alarum in the City he would have secured more.¹ Manley was amongst the prisoners, but he escaped from his custodians, and got safely to the continent. Guy Carleton also and several other leaders avoided arrest.

If the plotters had actually appealed to arms and their expected partisans in the City had followed them, the garrison of London would, no doubt, have been strong enough to suppress the rising. As a whole the City would have supported the government; and the London trained bands, at their review on May 21, expressed great zeal for the Protector's service. The rumour that the plotters had intended to fire the City in several places, in order to prosecute their enterprise under cover of the confusion, stimulated the popular feeling against them.²

On Tuesday, May 25, the proceedings of the High Court began in earnest. Sir Henry Slingsby was the first brought to the bar. He was a Yorkshire gentleman who had played a leading part in that county during the first civil war, and so strong a Royalist that he had declined to compound for his estate. Arrested on suspicion of a share in the insurrection of 1655, he had been since that date a prisoner in Hull, though not very strictly confined. Unluckily for himself, he was infected by the general excitement amongst his party

¹ Thurloe, vii. 140.

² *Mercurius Politicus*, May 13-20, p. 532; May 20-27, p. 544.

during the autumn of 1657, and attempted to persuade some officers of the garrison to betray Hull to Charles II. Major Waterhouse, to whom his first overture was made, at once reported it to Colonel Henry Smith, the governor of Hull.¹ Smith ordered Waterhouse to continue the negotiation with the aim of discovering any plot of the Cavaliers against the garrison, and 'if possible to untwist the thread of their implacable and devilish design.' On being informed of the matter the Protector approved Smith's conduct, and instructed him to obtain further evidence against Slingsby. Up to this time the prisoner had uttered treasonable words in plenty, but had committed no overt act of treason; moreover, there was only one witness against him. In the language of the time he was now 'trepanned,' that is, lured on by the pretended complicity of Waterhouse till he attempted to win over a second officer, Captain John Overton. On April 2, 1658, Slingsby delivered to Waterhouse in the presence of Overton a commission from Charles II to be governor of the castle and garrison, and offered Overton the appointment of deputy-governor.

The evidence was thus legally complete, and Serjeant Maynard had no difficulty in proving that Slingsby was legally guilty of high treason. All the prisoner could say in his defence was that what he did was done in jest, and that the commission was an old one. These lame excuses had no effect on the Court: on June 2 he was found guilty and condemned to death.²

¹ Waterhouse was not acting under orders when he listened to Slingsby's first overture in December, 1657. 'I know,' he wrote to the Protector, 'the hazard I have run in this undertaking, not being commissioned thereto by your sacred self' (Thurloe, vi. 781). The Protector's orders to Smith were contained in a letter of January 30, 1657, which has not survived. They can be gathered from Smith's answer (ib. vi. 777). See also Thurloe, vi. 784, 870; vii. 47, 48, 65, 98, 127, and the depositions on pp. 111-3, 121-5.

² For the proceedings at the trial, see *Mercurius Politicus*, May 20-27, and

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Dr. John Hewitt was tried on June 1. The evidence against him was equally conclusive; he had delivered a commission from Charles II to John Stapley, and there was ample proof of his negotiations with the King's agents. But the Doctor refused to plead guilty or not guilty, and disputed the authority of the Court in a long and rhetorical oration. It did not produce a good effect. 'The whole speech,' wrote one of his hearers, 'seemed to be starched on purpose for the lady spectators, towards whom he often turned on each side.' Finally, 'he began to let fly very liberally with much boldness against authority, and struck at the very root of all in the Parliament itself, to the great offence of the Lord President and the whole Court.'¹ In spite of repeated warnings he persisted in his refusal to plead, and judgment passed against him by default.

John Mordaunt, son of the Earl of Peterborough, who was the leading spirit in the Surrey branch of the plot, was more fortunate and more discreet.² Besides John Stapley the chief witness against him was Henry Mallory, who was to attest Mordaunt's efforts to arrange for the joint action of the Cavaliers of Sussex and Surrey. But the night before Mordaunt's trial Mallory made his escape, instigated and assisted by Mrs. Mordaunt, and was not recaptured till June 5.³ Consequently the

May 27-June 3. *The Several Trials of Sir Henry Slingsby, Kt., John Hewitt, D.D., and John Mordaunt, Esq.* E. 753 (5). A portion of this is reprinted in the *Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, ed. Parsons, p. 417. See also *State Trials*, v. 871.

¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, May 27-June 3, pp. 566, 570; *State Trials*, v. 883. For the chief depositions against Hewitt, see Thurloe, vii. 66, 74, 89. His legal arguments, supplied by Prynne, were published under the title of *Beheaded Dr. John Hewitt's ghost pleading, &c.*

² Mordaunt's trial took place on June 1 and 2. The evidence against him may be gathered from Thurloe, vii. 88, 101; *State Trials*, v. 908-24. See *Fifth Report Historical MSS. Comm.*, p. 171. On his case see also Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xv. 96-8.

³ On Mallory see Thurloe, vii. 74, 88, 194, 220, 622. He was still a prisoner in February, 1659.

evidence against Mordaunt was not sufficient; he boldly pleaded not guilty, made an able speech in his own defence, and was acquitted by the Court. Another prisoner, Captain Thomas Woodcock, was also acquitted, and the case against Sir Humphrey Bennett was dropped. Mallory, though condemned to death after his recapture, was relieved and escaped with imprisonment.¹

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Before the trial of the minor conspirators ended, the sentence on the two chief offenders had been carried out. On June 8, Slingsby and Hewitt were beheaded on Tower Hill. Slingsby behaved on the scaffold with a dignity which earned the respect of his enemies. 'He spake but low and very little, and kept himself in an even temper both in words and behaviour.' To the last he showed the loyalty which had brought his fate upon him, giving a friend to deliver to his son a scarf ring, which bore upon it 'the picture of the late king done in little.'

Hewitt, on the contrary, spoke at great length and somewhat theatrically, declaring that he died 'the martyr of the people.' Dr. Wild and three other divines, who attended him on the scaffold, turned the whole proceedings into a demonstration on behalf of the Church of England. Hewitt made a long prayer 'which seemed by the contexture of it to have been penned on purpose for the occasion, because of the many pieces of the Common Prayer Book that were interwoven in it.' He confessed the manifold sins of the nation, dwelling specially on sects and schisms. He prayed also for Charles Stuart 'under covert expressions which in the nature of them are treason, styling him *that person that ought to be over us*.' Wild prayed too, 'using the greatest part of those short petitions that are in the

¹ Bennett, Mallory, and Woodcock were tried on June 10, and sentence was given on June 15.—*Mercurius Politicus*, June 10-17; Thurloe, vii. 162.

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 XII turn said Amen, after the old Cathedral manner.'¹
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Next came the turn of the prisoners concerned in the intended rising in the City. Seven of the chief conspirators were tried on July 1, before the High Court of Justice in Westminster Hall. A number of the minor offenders, who were allowed to save themselves by giving evidence, proved conclusively the delivery of commissions, the enlisting of men, and the preparation of arms.² Of the seven prisoners six were condemned to death. One, William Carrent, was acquitted because Pitts, the principal witness against him, refused to give evidence when called upon in court to do so. Pitts was fined £1000 for his contumacy. John Sumner, one of the colonels of foot, pleaded guilty, as did also Oliver Allen; these two and Henry Fryer were reprieved at the foot of the gallows. Three, however, suffered the penalty of death. Colonel Edward Ashton was hanged and quartered in Tower Street on July 7. Edmund Stacy, Ashton's lieutenant-colonel, was executed on Cornhill (July 9), and John Betteley suffered in Cheapside (July 7). These executions took place, says Clarendon, 'in several great streets of the city to make the deeper impression upon the people. But all mer appeared so nauseated with blood and so tired with these abominable spectacles, that Cromwell thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned.'³

Clarendon's estimate of Cromwell's motives is only

¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, June 3-10, 1658.

² The trials are reported in *The Public Intelligencer*, June 28-July 5, and in *Mercurius Politicus*, July 1-8. The dying speeches of the sufferers are given in the same periodicals.

³ Clarendon, xv. 102. Alluding to these executions, Cowley says: 'We saw and smelt in our open streets the broiling of human bowels as an offering of sweet savour to our idol' (*Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 67). And again he speaks of Cromwell 'making the very street of London like the valley of Hinnom' (ib. p. 52).

valuable as representing the views of his party. The real reasons which dictated the severity of the government are plainly set forth in Thurloe's letters. It was impossible to tolerate the constant plotting of the Royalists; and when preparations for a domestic rising were combined with attempts to facilitate the landing of foreign forces they became a national danger. The aim of the government was to strike terror by making examples of some of the leaders; and when that purpose was achieved minor offenders were spared. Slingsby and Hewitt suffered for their party. Both had powerful friends. Clarendon gives currency to the rumour that Lord and Lady Fauconberg¹ did their utmost to save Hewitt's life, and Heath asserts that Mrs. Claypole also petitioned her father to spare him.² These stories are not confirmed by any good evidence. It is clear, on the other hand, that all the influence of both Lord and Lady Fauconberg was employed on behalf of Slingsby. His late wife, Barbara Bellasis, was the aunt of Lord Fauconberg, and his children naturally appealed to their powerful relative. Fauconberg himself was absent on a mission to France at the moment of the trial, but Lady Fauconberg appealed to the French ambassador in order to obtain the intervention

¹ Clarendon says that when Lord Fauconberg married Mary Cromwell, after the civil marriage had taken place, Hewitt 'was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the church; which engaged both that lord and lady to use their utmost credit with the Protector to preserve his life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the churchmen, whom he looked upon as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to if they stood in need of his mercy' (*Rebellion*, xv. 101). The story is not confirmed by any other evidence and is absolutely improbable. It is repeated, however, by Bernardi, *Prayer*, p. 485.

² Mrs. Claypole's intercession is spoken of by Heath, *Chronicle*, ed. 1663, p. 733, and it is also reported that in her last moments she urged her father to abolish the High Court of Justice (*Fifth Report, Historical MSS. Comm.*, p. 143). Her own letter to her sister-in-law on the plot, written on June 12, 1658, seems to show that she approved of the punishment inflicted on the conspirators (Thurloe, vii. 171).

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XII
1658

of Mazarin. The Cardinal declined to interfere, unless he was assured that the Protector was disposed to grant a pardon, and would welcome the pretext which such intercession would afford.¹ It is probable that some of the Protector's own supporters would have been glad to see Slingsby spared; 'in the opinion of many he had very hard measure,' says Ludlow, and the method in which the evidence against him had been procured could not be justified.² On the other hand, it was felt that the particular act for which Slingsby suffered was the most dangerous form which treason could take. Hull was the most accessible landing-place in England for forces coming from Flanders, and the most easy to defend if a force was once established there.³ To incite the Protector's officers to betray it to Charles and his Spaniards was a crime for which, in the eyes of the government, no mercy was possible. The feeling of the supporters of the government was that Slingsby and the irreconcilable section of the Cavaliers in general were sinners against light and against their country. 'Was it not,' said President Lisle, in delivering judgment on Slingsby, 'a great aggravation of the sins of the Egyptians, that when God had declared himself by so many signs and wonders on the behalf of the Israelites, that yet notwithstanding they would still pursue Moses and Israel? Was not this a great aggravation of their sin? Who is so great a stranger in this nation as to be ignorant what God hath done amongst us, by a series of wonderful providences many years together, against that very party who are still

¹ *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 431; Guizot, *Cromwell and the English Commonwealth*, ii. 591. Bordeaux to Mazarin, June 13, 14, and 17, 1658, *R.O. Transcripts*. Fauconberg set out for France on May 26, and returned June 5.

² Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 40.

³ For an account of the state of the garrison of Hull about this time, see *English Historical Review*, xxii. 310.

hatching of treasons and rebellions amongst us? . . . You cannot but choose and see that the Lord fights against you, and the stars in their courses fight against you; yet you will not see, you will not confess till destruction overtakes you. Sir, if the signal and wonderful providence of God will not deter you, yet methinks national considerations should deter you from such a treason. Charles Stuart is in confederacy with Spain against England, he is in confederacy with that great Popish interest. Is it imaginable that an Englishman, that a Protestant should affect such a confederacy as this is? ' ¹

CHAP.
XII
1658

Lisle concluded by comparing the Royalists to those English Catholics who conspired with Spain in the struggles of Queen Elizabeth's time. But there was a great difference between the position of England in those days and its position in 1658. Then Scotland was an independent kingdom, and Ireland an opportunity for foreign intrigues and an opening for foreign forces. Now both countries had been subdued and incorporated.

¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, May 27-June 3, p. 572; *State Trials*, v. 925.

CHAPTER XIII

MONCK'S GOVERNMENT OF SCOTLAND

CHAP. BY the spring of 1655 Monck had completed the
XIII military part of his task. One after another the last of
1655 the noblemen who had taken up arms with Glencairn and Middleton had laid them down again.¹ So far as outward signs went the subjugation of Scotland was complete. The regalia, it is true, had escaped capture, but the records of the kingdom of Scotland had been shipped to London and lodged in the Tower. In Westminster Hall the Scottish standards taken at Worcester hung side by side with the trophies of Preston and Dunbar. Over all the strongholds in Scotland waved the flags of English regiments, bearing St. George's Cross, and with Ebenezer or Emmanuel in large characters of gold inscribed upon them.²

The statesmen of the Long Parliament had decreed that Scotland and Ireland should be made one Commonwealth with England. The aim of the Protector was to carry this union to practical effect, to substitute civil for military rule, and to reconcile the Scots to the loss of national independence by the material and moral benefits of partnership in a more powerful state. The initial step of uniting the legislatures of

¹ See Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, chap. xxxii. Glengarry capitulated on June 8, 1655, and Graham of Duchray on July 17. Middleton had left Scotland in April.

² Burt's *Letters from Scotland*, ed. 1815, i. 217; *Chronicles of the Frasers, The Wardlaw Manuscript*, ed. W. Mackay, pp. 392, 415.

the two nations was already achieved when Monck took up his command.

The union of England and Scotland, discussed at length in 1652 and 1653, had been completed by the Instrument of Government and by the Ordinance of April 2, 1654. It was regarded by the Protector's two Parliaments as legally incomplete, and needing confirmation by an Act. A bill for that purpose was read once in the Parliament of 1654 and twice in that of 1656; but in the end the simpler course of confirming the Protector's ordinance was adopted, and it was included in the long list of ordinances made law on June 26, 1657.¹

Since 1653 representatives of Scotland had sat at Westminster. Five persons were nominated to represent it in the Little Parliament of 1653. In the Parliament of 1654 Scotland was represented by twenty-one members only; and it was not till 1656 that it actually returned the thirty members allotted to it in the Instrument of Government.² Of the twenty-one members of 1654, twelve were either English officers or government officials, and of the thirty members of 1656, twenty-one belonged to one or other of those categories. 'The rest,' wrote Monck to Thurloe on August 30, 1656, 'are honest and peaceable Scotchmen, and I believe will be all right for my lord Protector.' Robert Baillie's verdict agreed: 'None more ready to serve his Highness in everything than all that came from Scotland.'³ They proved this by the support they gave to the proposal to make Cromwell King; but the meagre records of the debates also show that in questions of

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1654-6

¹ Scobell, ii. 389; Terry, *The Cromwellian Union*, pp. xv-lxxiv; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, pt. ii, pp. 815, 822.

² See Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 232; iii. 8. For lists, see Terry, pp. xlv, lv, lxi.

³ Thurloe, v. 367; Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 357.

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XIII
1657

taxation and the privileges of the burghs, English officials and native Scots advocated the interests of Scotland with equal vigour.¹ The Petition and Advice made some modifications in the constitutional position of the Scottish members. Four representatives of Scotland received a summons to sit in the new Second Chamber: Monck, the Earl of Cassilis, Sir William Lockhart, and Johnston of Warriston. Of these Johnston absented himself on the plea of illness, Monck and Lockhart could not be spared from Edinburgh and Paris, and Cassilis did not answer.² Article four of the Petition left the number of the Scottish members who were to sit in future Parliaments undetermined, an omission which led to trouble in 1659, when the opposition used it as a handle to attack their right to sit in the House.³ The same article, and the explanation appended to it, definitely disfranchised all Scots who had taken part in Hamilton's invasion of England, excepting such as since that date had either borne arms for the Protector, served in Parliament, or might be declared by the Protector's Council to have given signal testimony of their good affection.

Practically this was little more than an expansion of the disfranchising article in the Instrument of Government; but it naturally dissatisfied the members for Scotland. 'You ought,' said one of them, 'to sweeten that nation as much as you can, so you do not admit your enemies. You have admitted them to sit in Parliament; and if you give a privilege with one hand and take it away with another it will discourage

¹ See the summary of the debates given by Mr. Terry, pp. lxxv-lxxiv, and Burton, *Diary*, i. 12, 346; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 81; Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 333.

² Baillie, iii. 359; *Report on the MSS of the House of Lords* (N.S.), iv. 522; Terry, p. 76.

³ See Burton, *Diary*, ii. 138.

that people.’¹ Too rigid an exclusion of former enemies would, as Monck argued, ‘keep up a great many people’s hearts towards Charles Stuart’s interest’; but in Scotland, as in England, the government did not think it safe to allow impenitent Royalists to exercise the franchise. The drawback was that, while in England such a provision disfranchised less than half the electorate, in Scotland, as the last war had been a national war, it disfranchised the majority of persons otherwise qualified to elect.² There was no doubt that Scotland was still thoroughly Royalist in feeling. ‘All things are quiet,’ wrote Monck confidentially to Lord Broghil in January, 1657, ‘but truly the Scots are now as malignant as ever they were since I knew Scotland, and such men as you would little believe are such.’ At the proclamation of the second Protectorate in Edinburgh on July 15, 1657, five or six thousand Scots were present to see the show, but ‘not one Scotchman opened his mouth to say, God bless my Lord Protector.’³

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1657

This permanent though repressed hostility required the maintenance of a strong army of occupation after the defeat of Glencairn’s rising. At the close of 1654 there were about 18,000 English soldiers in Scotland. By the establishment of July, 1655, the garrison was fixed at thirteen regiments and one company of foot, seven regiments of horse and four companies of dragoons; which meant, including officers, about 14,000 men. The establishment fixed in December, 1657, reduced the regiments of foot to eleven and the regiments of horse to five, whilst it diminished the number of privates in

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 249, 251; Thurloe, vi. 366.

² At a meeting of the gentry of the shire of Aberdeen in 1654 to elect a member, they came to the conclusion that they were all disqualified to vote by the terms of the Instrument.—*Letters from Roundhead Officers*, ed. J. Y. Akerman, p. 89 (Bannatyne Club, 1856).

³ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 347, 362.

CHAP. every troop and company, so that the total number of
 XIII officers and men came to about 10,500.¹ This reduc-
 1655-7 tion was possible owing to the increasing peaceableness
 of the country and the increasing strength of England's
 grip upon it. The policy of the government was to
 hold the country by establishing garrisons at strategic
 points. Citadels of great strength were built at Ayr,
 Leith, Inverness, and Perth. A fort was established
 at Inverlochy to curb the western Highlands, and there
 were about a score of minor garrisons. Plans of some
 of these forts still exist.² That of Inverlochy shows the
 barracks of each particular company and the houses of
 each of the officers, the prison, the forge, the stores, the
 position of the guns, and even the sanitary arrangements.
 Of Inverness there is a detailed description by a Scotch
 minister :

‘It was five-cornered with bastions, with a wide trench
 that an ordinary barque might sail in it at full tide ; the
 breast-work three storeys, built all of hewn stone lined
 within with a brick wall. Sentinel-houses of stone on
 each corner, a sally-port to the south leading to the
 town, and on the north a great entry or gate called the
 Port, with a strong drawbridge of oak called the Blue
 Bridge, and a stately structure over the gate, well cut
 with the Commonwealth's arms and this motto “Togam
 tuentur arma.” This bridge was drawn every night, and
 a strong guard within. Ships or shallops sailing in or out,
 the bridge was heaved to give way. The entry from the
 bridge into the citadel was a stately vault about
 seventy feet long, with seats on each side, and a row of
 iron hooks for pikes and drums to hang on. In the
 centre of the citadel stood a great four-square building,

¹ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 52, 373.

² Plans of Ayr, Inverness, and Inverlochy, photographed from the originals in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford, are given in *Scotland and the Commonwealth* (Scottish History Society, 1895).

all hewn stone, called the magazine and granary. In the third storey was the church, well furnished with a stately pulpit and stairs, a wide bartizan at top, and a brave great clock with four large gilded dials and a curious bell. South-east stood the great English building, so called being built by English masons, and south-west the Scotch building of the same dimensions, built by Scotch masons. North-west and north-east lower storeys for ammunition, timber, lodgings for manufactories, stablings, provision, brewing houses, and a great long tavern with all manner of wines, viands, beer, ale, and cider, sold by one Master Benson, so that the whole regiment was accommodated within these walls.' ¹

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XIII
1655-7

The most important of all these strongholds was Leith. It kept the capital of Scotland in awe, could be held by 500 men, was too strong to be breached, and could easily be relieved by sea. Ray, the naturalist, who travelled in Scotland in 1661, describes it thus :

‘ At Leith we saw one of those citadels built by the Protector, one of the best fortifications that ever we beheld, passing fair and sumptuous. There are three forts advanced above the rest, and two platforms. The works round about are faced with freestone towards the ditch, and are almost as high as the highest buildings within, and withal thick and substantial. Below are very pleasant, convenient, and well-built houses for the governor, officers, and soldiers, and for magazines and stores ; there is also a good capacious chapel, the piazza or void space within as large as Trinity College (in Cambridge) great court.’ ²

Monck thought this citadel impregnable. ‘ If he be

¹ Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 45 ; *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. 414.

² Lankester, *Memorials of John Ray*, 1846, p. 156.

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1655-7 a man that understands his business that commands it in a time of danger, I do not see how any enemy can take it.' The only danger was a sudden insurrection, in which some of the English forces might be cut off before they were aware; but with a little additional expenditure on fortifications in two or three places all the troops would be too securely quartered to run any risk of that kind. If this were done, he said that Scotland could be held with about 6000 men, and 4000 could be drawn off for service in England on any emergency.¹

The Protector aspired to do something more than hold Scotland down by force; his hope was to establish there a government so efficient and beneficent that it would secure willing support. Up to 1655 the machinery of civil administration in Scotland was of a very elementary nature. It consisted of revenue collectors and of three boards of commissioners. There were an admiralty court sitting at Leith;² seven commissioners for the administration of justice, sitting at Edinburgh and replacing the Court of Session;³ and nine commissioners for regulating the universities and the church.⁴

¹ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, xxxix-lii. 367-71, 373.

² It consisted of three members: Henry Whalley, Richard Saltonstall, and Samuel Desborough. Besides Admiralty business they had charge of the sequestrated estates (Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, xxxi. 152, 374. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 389, 397. Thurloe, iv. 105; vi. 517. *Commons' Journals*, vii. 106, 132). By ordinance of April 12, 1654, seven commissioners for the management of sequestrated estates were appointed by Cromwell. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, ii. 821.

³ Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 74; Mackay, *Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple Viscount Stair*, 1873, pp. 58-62. The four English judges were George Smyth, Edward Mosely, Andrew Owen, and John Marsh or March. Owen and Marsh were replaced in 1653 by Henry Goodyear and William Lawrence. The three Scots were William Lockhart, John Swinton, and Sir John Hope of Craighall. Hope died in April, 1654, and was replaced by Alexander Pearson of Southall (*Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1653-4, pp. 202, 273; Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 28, 43, 276, 283; Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 94, 96, 115, 124).

⁴ The commissioners were Major-General Deane, Col. George Fenwick,

All three boards had been established in 1652 by the 'commissioners of the Parliament for managing affairs in Scotland.' In the summer of 1655 a reorganisation took place. The Protector appointed a Council of Scotland analogous to the Council already existing in Ireland.

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XIII
1655

It consisted of nine members: Roger Lord Broghil, General Monck, Colonels Charles Howard, Adrian Scrope, Nathaniel Whetham and Thomas Cooper, Mr. Samuel Desborough, Sir William Lockhart, and John Swinton.¹ In ecclesiastical matters the Council was given all the authority formerly entrusted to the commissioners for regulating the universities and the church; in secular it had the control of the administration of justice, of police, of the revenue, and of trade. It was instructed also to inquire into the state of Scotland and the readiest way for continuing good government and for preserving the Union.² The guiding spirit of the Council was its president. Broghil was firm, conciliatory, and clear-sighted, while he combined with these qualifications a large amount of military and political experience gained in the hard school of the Irish wars. His want of any special familiarity with Scottish affairs was supplied by the experience of Monck and Desborough, and the local knowledge of Swinton and Lockhart. Within a few months of his arrival in Scotland, which took place in September, 1655, he succeeded in securing a popularity amongst the Scots which no English official had ever obtained; and when he left the country he was praised and

Judges Marsh, Owen, Mosely, and Smyth, Saltonstall, Samuel Desborough, and Edmund Syler.—Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, xxxviii. 44.

¹ Thurloe, iii. 423, 701; Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 306. Sir Edward Rhodes was later added to the Council, probably to replace Col. Cooper, who was appointed to command in Ulster.

² Thurloe, iv. 129. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1655, p. 108; 1658-9, p. 60. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, ii. 826.

CHAP. regretted by men most opposed to the government he
 XIII represented. The President Broghil, says Baillie, 'is
 1655 reported by all to be a man exceeding wise and moderate,
 and by profession a Presbyterian : he has gained more
 on the affections of the people than all the English
 that ever were among us. . . . If men of my Lord
 Broghil's parts and temper be long among us they will
 make the present government more beloved than some
 men wish.' In August, 1656, when Broghil was leaving
 Scotland, the city of Edinburgh entertained Broghil,
 Monck, and the chief civil and military officials, and gave
 them the freedom of the city.¹

When the Council of Scotland was established the struggle between the two parties in the church was at its height. The dissolution of the General Assembly on July 20, 1653, had not mended matters; synods and presbyteries continued to exist, and Resolutioners and Protesters² carried on the struggle there with unabated vigour. The English commissioners had visited the universities, placed new principals in Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, and appointed or removed a certain number of ministers. But neither party would own their authority; and while each strove to rule the church, each defended its autonomy against the English government. By two declarations, published on August 2, 1653, and March 26, 1655, ministers had been prohibited from praying for the King. A considerable number of them had been arrested for contravening these proclamations; but though now threatened with the suspension of their stipends they still continued to disobey.³ The Council was determined

¹ Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 315, 321; Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 183; *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 320.

² The Protesters were also termed 'Remonstrants' or 'Remonstrators,' but the first of these three names seems to express their position best.

³ Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 111, 152; *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 192,

to put a stop to the practice, but, while prepared to take the drastic measure of prohibiting offenders from preaching altogether, thought it desirable to try mildness first. Broghil held private conferences with the heads of the moderate sections in each party. As he found them willing to yield if they could yield with honour, but anxious not to seem to do so for fear of pecuniary penalties, a proclamation was issued annulling all the penalties threatened and giving the ministers six weeks to consider the matter. After that time, it announced, the Council would take whatever measures it thought most conducive to the public peace. The result was that in October, 1655, a vast majority of the ministers in Scotland ceased to pray for Charles II.¹ The few who were still recalcitrant forbore to use the word 'king' in their sermons, and prayed 'for every distressed person and every distressed family'; or employed phrases such as 'Lord, remember David in all his troubles,' which their congregations emphasised with sighs and groans.² This was Broghil's first triumph. 'From our public praying for the king,' wrote Baillie, 'Broghil's courtesies, more than his threats, brought off our leading men.'³

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XIII
1655
Sept.
27

A greater question now remained to be settled, namely, what attitude the Council and the English government should adopt towards the two parties amongst the clergy. Those who represented the government in Scotland had habitually leaned towards the Protesters, and Monck, like his predecessor Lilburne,

222, 225; Lamont's *Diary*, pp. 72, 73, 115; *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 309; Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 253; *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 62.

¹ Thurloe, iv. 49, 56, 58; Lamont, p. 117; Nicoll, p. 160; Baillie, iii. 281, 295, 321.

² Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 322. Cf. Thurloe, iv. 558; vii. 416. *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 309.

³ Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 321.

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XIII
1654

was inclined to favour them. He called them 'the honest party of the ministers.' The Protector himself showed signs of a similar leaning, but was most anxious to effect some reconciliation between them.¹ In March, 1654, he summoned to England three ministers, Gillespie, Livingstone, and Menzies, in order to discuss the question how 'to beget a good understanding between the people of God of different judgments.'² After hearing them Cromwell drew up an ordinance 'For the better support of the Universities in Scotland and encouragement of the public preachers there' (August 8, 1654). The important part of this ordinance was the second half, which divided Scotland into five districts and appointed fifty-seven laymen and ministers with functions like those of the 'Triers' in England. Henceforth no one was to be admitted to a living unless he was certified by four of these to be 'a person of a holy and blameless conversation, disposed to live peaceably under the present government, and who for the grace of God in him, and his knowledge and utterance, is able and fit to preach the Gospel.' On their certificate the English commissioners for visiting the universities were instructed to act.³

The plan was merely a repetition of that which the Protector had applied in the English church; but in

¹ Thurloe, iii. 117; Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 39; Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 393.

² Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 41, 57, 105; Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ed. S. C. Lomas, iii. 448; Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 243, 567. Cromwell also sent for Robert Blair, Robert Douglas, and James Guthrie, who refused to come (*Life of Robert Blair*, p. 315; Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 127).

³ This Ordinance was not printed till October, 1655, and is not in Cromwell's Ordinances or Scobell's Acts, but will be found in Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 164, and in *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. ii. 831. The English 'Ordinance appointing Commissioners for approbation of public Preachers,' of March 20, 1654, requires the same qualifications in candidates for livings, except that it omits the clause about living peaceably. See Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 320.

Scotland it was regarded as a device suggested by Gillespie to obtain the control of the church. 'Mr. Gillespie's charter,' as it was derisively termed, was rejected by the leaders of both parties. Resolutioners like Baillie complained that it gave the Protesters a majority in the committees for approving ministers. 'There were only a few of our mind joined, who could have carried nothing against the other; so the planting of all the churches was in effect devolved on that faction.'¹ Others said that there were in the ordinance 'many things encroaching upon the liberties of the kingdom of Christ, and contrary to the established order of kirk government in Scotland,' and that it set up 'a kind of prelacy.'² In the face of this universal opposition the ordinance could not be put into execution, and merely aggravated the quarrel.

CHAP.
XIII
1655

Broghil's opinion of the two parties in the church did not augur well of the success of the Protector's policy. The Resolutioners, he wrote, 'love Charles Stuart and hate us'; the Protesters 'neither love him nor us.' Their animosities were so great that they could not be reconciled to each other. 'It might be no very difficult thing to get either party to acknowledge our government, if you would put the power therefrom into their hands to suppress the others,' but neither would ever cordially support it.³ He distinguished between two sections amongst the Protesters: 'the sober sort,' led by Gillespie and Livingstone, who were both friends on the whole to the Protector's government, though strong Presbyterians; there was also a violent section, 'the fierce men,' led by James Guthrie and Johnston of Warriston, who were bitterly averse to the Protector's

¹ Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 282; see also pp. 302, 305, 324, 330.

² *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 318; cf. Thurloe, iv. 128, 256.

³ Broghil to Thurloe, September 22, 1655. Thurloe, iv. 49.

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XIII
1656

authority, or, indeed, to any. He called the latter 'Fifth-Monarchy Presbyterians.' Of the two parties it would be more advantageous to win over the Resolutioners, because they were 'by very much the greater number of the ministry and best esteemed by the Presbyterians in England and Ireland'; but many of them were Royalists at heart, and many unfit for the calling of a minister of the Gospel. His opinion was that they had not been well handled; and he proved it by procuring, after many private conferences, an engagement from six of their leaders that they would live inoffensively and peaceably under the Protector's government. This they told him he might look upon as pledging 750 out of the 900 ministers in Scotland.¹ Broghil hoped next to persuade the Resolutioners, after purging their party of unfit and ignorant ministers, to a union with the moderate section of the Protesters led by Gillespie and Livingstone, and to form in this way a party of the most sober, most honest, and most godly of the nation. 'We shall hardly do our work,' he said, 'by building with any one of these two parties, but by composing a third.'²

Broghil was a little too sanguine. Yet when he left Scotland, though he had not succeeded in bringing about this agreement between the moderate sections of the two parties, he had reconciled the leaders of the Resolutioners to the government, and convinced them that they would get a fair hearing from the Protector. Both parties ended by appealing to Cromwell to judge between them. The Resolutioners commissioned James Sharpe to put their case before him. Broghil recommended him to Thurloe as 'a sober good man, and a friend and servant of his Highness,' adding,

¹ Broghil to Thurloe, February 26, 1656. Thurloe, iv. 56, 557.

² *Ib.* iv. 479.

‘the public Resolution men will prove the honestest of the two.’¹ The Protesters sent up James Simpson, followed shortly by Warriston, Gillespie, and Guthrie. ‘If I may make so bold as to offer my opinion,’ wrote Monck, ‘they are better to be trusted than the other party which are called the general Resolution men.’² Evidently the President of the Council had not succeeded in converting the commander-in-chief.

CHAP.
XIII
1656-7

To many Presbyterians this application to the English government seemed a great risk. Robert Blair judged it ‘an absurd thing to make the Protector umpire of our sinful and shameful divisions and debates,’ and thought he ‘would cast more oil in the flame.’ Baillie feared that the end of the strife would be ‘the Protector’s determination to subject our poor church to some new Erastian model,’ which would be ‘very grievous, albeit far more tolerable than the tyrannic Turkish yoke of the Protesters.’³

The agents of the two parties were heard by the Council of State, and their papers referred to a committee of divines and officials. Fleetwood, Lambert, Dr. Owen, and other Independents backed the Protesters; whilst Manton and the London Presbyterian ministers vigorously advocated the cause of the Resolutioners. In the end the Council did not decide in favour of either party, but wrote a letter in the Protector’s name bidding the Scottish ministers lay aside their differences and agree to carry on the work of reformation together. ‘We hope,’ it concluded, ‘the Lord may so direct you that we may not be obliged to proceed in any other

July 14
1657

¹ Broghil to Thurloe, November 26, 1656. Thurloe, v. 655. See Baillie’s *Letters*, iii. 324, 330, 333, 336, 339. Sharpe’s instructions, dated August 23, 1656, are printed in the appendix to Baillie, p. 568.

² Monck to the Protector, January 3, 1657. Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 345. See also Baillie, iii. 318, 327, 350, 352.

³ *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 329; Baillie’s *Letters*, iii. 335.

CHAP. course to prevent the consequences.'¹ When Sharpe
 XIII took leave of the Protector, Cromwell told him he would
 1657-8 be loath to grant anything to the prejudice of the
 Resolutioners, asked to be commended to some leading
 ministers he named, and professed his sorrow that he
 was a stumbling-block to them.² The obnoxious ordinance of August 8, 1654, was silently dropped.³ Just as Cromwell in England had ceased to rely exclusively on the Independents, and was now seeking and obtaining the support of the Presbyterians, so in Scotland he resolved not to ally himself too closely to the Protesters, but to endeavour to unite the moderate men of both ecclesiastical parties and to rebuild the church by their aid.

The sincerity of Cromwell's zeal for the promotion of religion in Scotland was shown by other evidence too. One of Thurloe's correspondents in Scotland had urged him 'to get the Highlands planted with ministers,' as being 'the only way to bring them to civility'; and Thurloe zealously promoted the plan. At his instigation the Protector granted in May, 1658, the sum of £1200 a year for maintaining ministers and schoolmasters in that district. In his letter he said that, whereas the gospel had been plentifully preached in the Lowlands, 'little or no care hath been taken for a very numerous people inhabiting in the Highlands by the establishing of a ministry or a maintenance, where the greatest part hath scarce heard whether there be an Holy Ghost or not, though there be some

¹ *Life of Robert Blair*, pp. 330-4. See Sharpe's letters to Baillie: Baillie, iii. 338, 341, 346, and 448. The Protector's letter is dated September 8, 1657. See *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 69, 89.

² Baillie, iii. 362.

³ In the new instructions to the Scottish Council dated June 10, 1658, the order to put it in force which appears in the instructions of June 24, 1655, is omitted.—*Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1655, p. 108; ib. 1657-8, p. 109. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, ii. 826, 876.

in several parts, as we are informed, that hunger and thirst after the means of salvation . . . and some ministers that were acquainted with the Highland language have in a late summer season visited those parts, and been courteously used by many professing their breathings after the gospel.' ¹

CHAP.
XIII
1654-8

The encouragement of education was essentially part of Cromwell's religious policy. His liberality to the universities of Scotland was conspicuous. The English visitors had made John Row principal of Aberdeen, Patrick Gillespie of Glasgow, and Robert Leighton of Edinburgh, and in 1656 James Wood became principal of St. Andrews.² All were able men, but the troubles of the time had disorganised the universities, and education suffered. At St. Andrews degrees were for years privately given without examination, for fear lest candidates for graduation should be obliged to accept the 'Tender.'³ At Glasgow, in 1654, Baillie complains that there was 'no examination at the end of the year, no solemn laureation, nor much attendance on classes.' Gillespie was given up to ecclesiastical politics, spent little time in teaching, and devoted his attention and the revenues of the college to vain-glorious and costly buildings.⁴ The Protector's ordinance of August 8, 1654, settled on Glasgow the lands of the late bishopric of Galloway, and on Aberdeen those of its own bishopric, besides assigning to each university two

¹ Thurloe, iv. 646; vii. 169. Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ed. Lomas, iii. 512. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 367; 1658-9, pp. 4, 60. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, ii. 875. Declaration of the Protector, May 4, 1658. The letter of April 15 promised £600 a year for ministers, the declaration of May 4 added schoolmasters and made the total £1200.

² Lamont's *Diary*, p. 58; Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 206, 211, 213, 237, 244, 316, 365; Rait, *The Universities of Aberdeen*, p. 158.

³ Lamont's *Diary*, pp. 54, 92, 111. This was in 1652-4, before Wood's appointment.

⁴ Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 243, 254, 285, 313, 384, 412, 574.

CHAP. hundred marks yearly out of the Customs of the town.¹
 XIII At Aberdeen there still stands in the north-east corner of
 1654-8 Kings College, a square tower called the Cromwell Tower,
 which the liberal subscriptions of Cromwellian officers
 helped to build.² At Glasgow the south and west sides
 of the inner court of the university building were com-
 pleted by about 1656; then the north and south sides
 of the outer court were taken in hand, and finally the
 whole front was pulled down and rebuilt.³ To defray
 the expense of these buildings Gillespie obtained a second
 grant from the Protector, bestowing on the university
 certain revenues formerly belonging to the Dean and
 Chapter of Glasgow, and also confirming the former
 grant; but the Restoration followed too soon to prevent
 much profit being derived from this source. As a re-
 cognition of Thurloe's help in this matter Gillespie
 procured the election of the Secretary as chancellor of
 Glasgow, but he appears to have declined the honour.⁴
 Edinburgh also shared the Protector's bounty, and on
 Leighton's petition was granted in 1658 an endowment
 of £200 a year.⁵

There was one point of the Protector's policy which
 no liberality to the universities could expiate in the eyes
 of the Scottish clergy; and that was what one of them
 termed 'that hellish toleration.'⁶ The fear of its intro-
 duction into Scotland was one of the chief objections

¹ Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 164; cf. Baillie, ii. 282; Thurloe, iv. 566; vi. 499. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1656-7, pp. 277, 304. As the ordinance of August, 1654, was not confirmed by the Parliament of 1656, Gillespie obtained a second grant and a new charter.

² Rait, *The Universities of Aberdeen*, p. 241.

³ *The University of Glasgow Old and New*, ed. by Stewart, Glasgow, 1891, p. 29. There is a good view of the College in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*.

⁴ Baillie, iii. 386, 397; Thurloe, vi. 777. February 4, 1658. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1656-7, pp. 277, 304.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 77; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, ii. 877.

⁶ Baillie, iii. 309; cf. p. 393.

made when the union of the two nations was first proposed.¹ The article on freedom of conscience in the Petition and Advice was much less liberal than the similar provision in the Instrument of Government, but it was far too liberal for Scottish Presbyterians.² Baillie denounced the silence of the representatives of Scotland in Parliament when such an outrage on their religion was embodied in a constitution applying to their country as well as to England. Mr. Carstairs prayed that the Lord would forgive the proclamation which promised 'men of erroneous opinions to have toleration provided they live peaceably,' and asked indignantly, 'Is this the practice of Christian magistrates?'³

CHAP.
XIII
1652-8

Even worse than toleration was the active encouragement of Independency by the government. The declaration issued by the Parliament's commissioners on February 12, 1652, promised protection not only to the Church of Scotland, but also to all others 'who not being satisfied in conscience to use that form shall serve and worship God in any other gospel way, and behave themselves peaceably and inoffensively therein.' At first the behaviour of the English soldiers had given much offence. Some of them broke down the stools of repentance in the churches, or seated themselves derisively thereon during worship. Regimental chaplains held noisy disputations with orthodox ministers about predestination or rebaptism. Later came attempts to form congregations. A few ministers and officials declared in favour of 'the Independent way'; and a minister named Thomas Charteris renounced Presbyterianism, got together a little flock of Scottish Separatists,

¹ Terry, *The Cromwellian Union*, p. 26.

² Compare articles thirty-five, thirty-six, and thirty-seven of the Instrument with article eleven of the Petition.

³ Baillie, iii. 340; Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 365, 383.

CHAP. and obtained from the English commissioners the rich
 XIII living of Kilbride. The Baptists were at first the most
 1652-9 conspicuous and active sect. In 1653 there were public rebaptisms in the Water of Leith and elsewhere near Edinburgh. Once fifteen persons were dipped in a day, and both men and women of good rank went through the ceremony with scores of scandalised Scots looking on.¹ The ordinance of August 8, 1654, promised Separatist ministers state support. By it the commissioners for regulating the ministry, while employing the stipends of the parochial churches for the support of the Presbyterian clergy, were instructed to provide 'out of the treasury of vacant stipends, or otherwise as they shall think fit, a competent maintenance for such ministers who have gathered congregations in Scotland.'² Despite this Separatism did not flourish. In 1659 there were but two 'gathered churches' in Scotland, one a congregation of Independents at Edinburgh, the other a congregation of Baptists at Leith. Separatists complained that, instead of being assisted by the government, they were actually discouraged. The Protector, said one, anxious to conciliate the Presbyterians, gave them power to admit and depose ministers, so that Independents had no chance of a livelihood in the church; whilst the judges put out Independent officials in order to make place for gentlemen of the national creed. 'Before this day,' wrote Robert Pitilloh in 1659, 'there would have been thousands in Scotland separated from the national church, who would have jeopardised their lives for the godly in England, if they had met

¹ Nicoll, *Diary*, pp. 84, 94, 106; Lamont's *Diary*, pp. 45, 53, 58, 60, 65; Orme, *Life of John Owen*, p. 486; Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 323; Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 39; *Life of Robert Blair*, pp. 289, 291, 297; Barclay, *Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, pp. 48, 97, 192; Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 185, 193, 242.

² Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 167.

with that freedom and encouragement which justly they expected when the English first came to Scotland.'¹

CHAP.
XIII
1655-7

Something, no doubt, was due to a change of policy on the part of the government, but more to the fact that the soil of Scotland was uncongenial to the growth of Independency. Moreover, Quakerism began to replace Anabaptism, as a propagandist force, both in the army of occupation and outside it. Amongst Scots there were great complaints of the Quakers. During 1655 and 1656 they dared publicly to oppose ministers in some of the Edinburgh churches, and to preach boldly on Castle Hill. They gained converts too amongst the yeomen of Clydesdale; and many of the English officers either favoured them or became converted. One Quaker preached at Aberdeen, and denounced the university as 'a cage of unclean birds.' George Fox, with a companion whom he terms 'a thundering man against hypocrisy, deceit, and the rottenness of the priests,' visited Scotland in the summer of 1657. He was called before the Council (October 13, 1657) and ordered to leave Scotland within a week, disobeyed the order, was arrested at Glasgow and other places, but was always released again and preached with impunity. His converts were excommunicated and suffered much, but continued to increase, and he predicted their multiplication. 'For,' said he, 'when I first set my horse's feet upon Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me like innumerable sparks of fire.' Monck, however, carefully purged out of the army all those officers he found tainted with Quakerism, regarding them as politically dangerous.²

¹ Pitilloh, *The Hammer of Persecution or The Mystery of Iniquity in the Persecution of many good people in Scotland under the government of Oliver, late Lord Protector*, p. 14 (British Museum, E. 993 (4)). Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 123.

² Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 285, 323. Nicoll, *Diary*, pp. 147, 177. Fox's *Diary*, i.

CHAP.
XIII
1652-8

If orthodox Presbyterians were scandalised by the spread of Quakerism the neglect of their military governors to punish witchcraft also caused some murmurs.¹ English officers, when they first came to Scotland, were shocked by the frequency of trials for witchcraft and the barbarity with which accused persons were treated. As soon as the commissioners for the administration of justice began to sit they inquired into the matter, and 'appointed the sheriffs, ministers, and tormentors to be found out.'² The result was some cessation of these proceedings, though they were not stopped altogether. 'There is much witchery up and down our land,' complained Baillie; 'though the English be but too sparing to try it, yet some they execute.'³ In October, 1657, while Fox was in Edinburgh, a woman was burnt on the Castle Hill for witchcraft; many thousands of people, 'with abundance of priests among them,' flocked together to see the sight, and he seized the opportunity to exhort them. Two others suffered in the same place in the spring of 1658, and four more in the summer. In spite of the scepticism with which English officers regarded the offence, and their pity for the victims, civil justice was allowed to work its will without interference.⁴ In April, 1658, a woman who

393-412. Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 350, 352. Thurloe, vi. 136, 145, 162, 167, 208, 215, 241, 635, 708. *The Doctrines and Principles of the Priests of Scotland contrary to the Doctrine of Christ and the Apostles*, by G. Weare, &c. (British Museum, E. 931 (3)). A second edition with large addition was published in 1659. Whiting, *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, p. 168. See also Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 494; Barclay, *Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, pp. 149, 192, 229.

¹ According to Professor Hume Brown, the period from 1643 to 1650 and the years immediately following the Restoration were the times 'distinguished by the greatest panic at the widespread commerce with the powers of darkness.' Introduction to the *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, second series, vol. viii, p. xiv.

² Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 368. ³ Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 394, 436.

⁴ Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 202, 212, 213, 216; Fox's *Journal*, i. 400; cf. Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. 180, 186, 194, 219, 228, 244.

to the last protested her innocence was burnt at Ayr. Colonel Sawrey, the governor of the town, who evidently believed her protests, wrote: 'The people in this country are more set against witchcraft than any other wickedness, and if once a person have that name, and come upon an assize, it is hard to get off with less than this poor creature.'¹

The persecution of supposed witches was mainly confined to the Lowlands. In the Highlands milder superstitions flourished. In some parishes the effigies of Celtic saints were still worshipped with strange and idolatrous rites. The presbytery of Dingwall discovered much to its indignation, in 1656, that the Protestant inhabitants of half a dozen districts in their jurisdiction annually sacrificed bulls to St. Mourie on his festival day, made pilgrimages to hallowed monuments, supplicated at holy wells, and poured libations of milk upon
 - fairy knowes to appease the little people.²

In the Highlands Presbyterianism had also to struggle against Catholicism; there were many districts in the North in which the majority of the population still professed the old faith. During the English occupation the Kirk was too distracted by its own divisions to exercise its usual rigour against them, and the military governors had more important tasks in hand. In 1653 the Propaganda at Rome organised the Scottish Mission under Father William Ballantyne as Vicar Apostolic, and Ballantyne and other priests set out for Scotland. According to their report, they met with considerable success, and made many converts. The war with Spain, however, led to a renewal of the usual measures. In March, 1656, the Council issued a

¹ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 382.

² *Records of the Presbyteries of Inverness and Dingwall*, ed. W. Mackay, pp. xxxvi-xlii, 280-7.

CHAP. XIII
1655-6 proclamation making it death for any priest to be found in the nation after a given date. In June it ordered all lay Catholics to be disarmed, and to give security that they would not correspond with Charles Stuart or other enemies to the state.¹ The Kirk also took the alarm. In August, 1656, there was a meeting of representatives of various synods at Edinburgh to consider the best means of suppressing Popery. It was said to be on the increase, especially in the North, which was destitute of ministers and infested by seminary priests and Jesuits. Two ministers were deputed to proceed to Caithness to preach against it; but one died and the other declined to go. In sum, there was no real activity against Catholicism in Scotland during the Protectorate, though the laws against its professors remained unchanged.²

One of the matters with which the Council had been charged was the reorganisation of the Court of Justice. In September, 1655, two of the three Scottish judges, Col. William Lockhart and John Swinton, had become members of the Council, and ceased to act as judges; so that Alexander Pearson of Southall was the only one remaining, and he was very inefficient. Owing to this and other causes there was so much delay that 50,000 processes were said to be pending. To remedy this evil two new judges were appointed, Sir James Learmont and Andrew Kerr, while the former 'Outer House' of the Court of Session was revived.³ Learmont and

¹ *Records of the Presbyteries of Inverness and Dingwall*, ed. W. Mackay, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi. Thurloe, iv. 700; v. 83. Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 329. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1655-6, p. 234. Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, translated by Blair, iv. 42, 46, 344.

² *The Public Intelligencer*, March 17-24, 1655-6, p. 431; *Lamont's Diary*, p. 111; *Life of Robert Blair*, pp. 324, 328.

³ The Court of Justice, wrote Broghil, 'consists of two Houses; the one termed the outward, and the other the inward house. This cannot have less than four, that . . . never had more . . . than one. The outward house is to

Pearson died in 1657, and were replaced by James Dalrymple (July, 1657) and Alexander Brodie (January, 1658).¹ On July 9, 1657, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston was appointed Lord Clerk Register, and thanks to his good offices all that part of the Scottish records which concerned private rights was sent back to Edinburgh.²

The employment of a certain number of Scottish judges was necessary, since, as Monck said, English lawyers 'when they come hither, though they be never so able, they do not understand the law here, and so are to seek.'³ Yet it was held advisable that the majority should be Englishmen, since the instructions of the Council ordered them to further the union of the two nations by assimilating as far as possible the procedure of the Scottish courts to that of the English. As Broghil pointed out, the phrase 'according to equity and good conscience' were the only words in the judges' commissions that gave 'a rise to bring the laws of Scotland to the laws of England'; and the Scottish judges, 'much averse to that expression,' pleaded hard

decide all things of high importance, as also whatever the judge of the outward house finds any difficulty in, or whatever any aggrieved person there desires may be brought before the sessions, after hearing in the outward house; the judge of which house ought to be an able man both of parts and body, the work requiring good intellectuals and experience, as well as corporal strength. For want of such a one, all causes of late, which properly are to be determined there, have been brought into the inward house, whereby four were employed in what one might have done; and so the people had not that expeditious justice, which was requisite and usual; and thereby, as the judges inform me, there is at present near fifty thousand processes depending. This great stop of justice made the council esteem it absolute duty to remove the cause thereof, by restoring the outward house, and placing a fit person to discharge the burthen thereof.—Thurloe, iv. 268; cf. vi. 372. Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 168. Mackay, *Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple*, 1873, pp. 58–62.

¹ Nicoll, *Diary*, pp. 198, 210, 219; Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 385; Thurloe, vi. 329, 339, 351, 364, 372.

² Thurloe, vii. 537; *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657–8, pp. 37, 104, 115, 182; Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 203.

³ Thurloe, vi. 329, 464.

CHAP. XIII
1655-8

‘to keep the judges to the known statute law.’¹ In the face of this opposition their colleagues could do little in the way of reform, except endeavouring to make justice speedier and cheaper. In the last task they were only in part successful: during the later years of the Protectorate, especially after Warriston’s appointment as Clerk Register, the fees rose again.² The real legal reforms of the period were the substitution of English for Latin in the legal proceedings, the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions, and the creation of popular courts baron in every county with power to determine suits of less than forty shillings value.³ In every county also, early in 1656, justices of the peace were appointed with powers similar to those of English justices.⁴ Though strict Royalists refused to act under the Protector’s commission, many men of influence and position were less scrupulous.⁵

The real benefit which the Cromwellian government conferred on Scotland was not the reform of the laws, but their enforcement. It gradually established better order than any previous ruler had been able to secure. After the suppression of Glencairn’s rising the country had been practically disarmed. Noblemen and chiefs of clans were allowed to keep arms for defence against ‘broken men’ in their own borders; their followers laid down their arms really, not figuratively; and particular care was taken that the pistols and defensive armour necessary for the equipment of cavalry should be

¹ Thurloe, iv. 324; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, ii. 825.

² Terry, *Cromwellian Union*, pp. 176, 180; Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 276; Nicoll’s *Diary*, pp. 103, 117, 169, 179, 204, 207, 213, 223.

³ See the Protector’s ordinances of April 12, 1654. Scobell, ii. 293, 295; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, ii. 816; and Lamont’s *Diary*, p. 88.

⁴ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 98, 106, 308, 403; *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 326; Thurloe, iv. 342, 741; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, ii. 832.

⁵ *Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett*, p. 106; Thurloe, iv. 480.

surrendered.¹ In the Lowlands a licence was required to carry firearms, and Monck's Order Book is full of notes of the issue of such permits as the following: 'Suffer the bearer . . . to pass and repass about his negotiations, and to carry a pistol for his personal defence, and to make use of a fowling-piece for his recreation, provided he act nothing prejudicial to his Highness.'² Ex-royalists, who had not proved their intention to live peaceably, found it difficult to obtain such privileges, and at one time they appear to have been prohibited from wearing swords. Anne Murray, at her first meeting with her future husband, Sir James Halkett, was barely civil to him because she thought he was wearing a sword; 'for all the nobility and gentry had that mark of slavery upon them that none had liberty to wear a sword, only such as served their interest and disowned the king, which made me hate to see a Scotchman with a sword.' When she discovered that it was 'only a stick he held in his hand under his coat, that stuck out like a sword,' she realised that he was an honest gentleman, and began the friendly intercourse which ended in their marriage.³

After this disarmament Monck's next object was to get rid of the distressed soldiers, broken men, and sturdy beggars who infested both town and country. A certain number of prisoners taken during the war, especially moss-troopers, were sent to Barbadoes to work in the plantations, as many of the Worcester prisoners had been.⁴ The English government proposed

¹ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 159, 166, 167, 179, 235, 254.

² Monck's Order Book is amongst the Clarke MSS. in the library of Worcester College, Oxford. A specimen of one of these permits is printed in E. D. Dunbar's *Social Life in Former Days*, second series, p. 55.

³ *Autobiography of Lady Anne Halkett*, ed. J. G. Nichols, p. 76. This was about 1653. Later doubtless the rule was relaxed.

⁴ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. xxx. Thurloe, iii. 488; iv. 103, 221.

CHAP. to seize 'all masterless, idle vagabonds, both men and
 XIII women,' whom they could lay hands on, and transport
 1655-8 them to colonise Jamaica; but Lord Broghil represented
 that this would set the country in a flame, and the project was abandoned.¹ Instead of this, permission was freely given to raise soldiers for the French or Swedish service, 'the people here,' said Monck, 'being generally so poor and idle, that they cannot live unless they be in arms, so that the transporting of five or six thousand of them would tend much to the settling of the country.' Lord Cranstoun levied a regiment for the King of Sweden in 1655; and another thousand were raised to recruit the regiments of Douglas and Rutherford which were already serving in France.²

Having thus got rid of a part of the dangerous class, Monck organised a simple and efficient police system. In the Highlands each chief was held responsible for the misdoings of his clansmen; he had either to produce the criminals or to compensate the injured parties. In case of refusal soldiers were employed to coerce him, and arrest the disturbers of the peace; or, if he was too far distant from garrisons, a neighbouring chief was employed for the purpose. In the Lowlands each parish was made answerable for robberies committed within its limits, and the inhabitants of the Border counties were fined or punished if they harboured moss-troopers. On the edge of the Highlands and in the Border districts a few Scots were permanently employed as guards; and detachments of soldiers were always ready to supplement them if needed. In every district passes were rigidly required from travellers or strangers. The execution of these regulations was

¹ Thurloe, iii. 497; iv. 41, 129.

² *Ib.* iv. 41, 196, 561; v. 389; vi. 740, 770. Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. xxxi, 80, 352; *Chronicles of the Frasers; The Wardlaw MS.*, ed. W. Mackay, pp. 417, 491.

entrusted to the officers commanding troops or garrisons in the neighbourhood, as well as to the civil magistrates. After the institution of the justices of the peace a certain number of officers were put in the commission for every county, in order to ensure the co-operation of civil and military authorities, and keep the native justices up to their work.¹

CHAP.
XIII
1655-8

In the Highlands the change which these measures produced was immediate and obvious. Colonel William Brayne, the first governor of the fort at Inverlochy, is described by a Scot as 'an excellent wise man.' Thanks to him, it is added, in Lochaber and the Western Highlands, 'where there was nothing but barbarities, now there is not one robbery at all this year, although formerly it was their trade they lived by to rob and to steal.'² From Perthshire it was reported in March, 1656, that 'for fear of the justices and constables there is neither an Argyle man nor Lochaber man that has taken in these bounds a night's meal for nought, or dare so much as carry a sword.' About the same date the governor of Ruthven castle wrote: 'The business prospers so well in our hands, as justices of peace in these Highlands, that I hope in short time we may contend for civility with the Lowlands; a loose or broken man or a stranger cannot pass without a sufficient testimonial under the hand of some officer of the army or justice of the peace.'³ In February, 1657, Monck wrote that he had the Highlands in better order than ever before. 'I find them very punctual in observing of orders for apprehending any broken men or thieves in that country, which I could never bring them to till now of late.' The latest emissaries of Charles II had been badly received, and

¹ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. xxxiii-xxxviii.

² J. Drummond to Thurloe, January 8, 1656. Thurloe, iv. 401.

³ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 321; *Report on the MSS. of Mr. Leyborne Popham*, p. 110.

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1655-8 Monck was convinced that no new rising was probable. 'I believe the people's minds are pretty well settled for peace in those parts, being they have found the benefit of peace and civil government among them, which I think they never had before.' What danger there was came from another quarter. 'I think the Lowlands are generally as apt for mischief, if occasion should be offered, as ever they were.'¹

In the Lowlands it was the countrymen rather than the townsmen who were hostile. The first act of the Council was to restore the autonomy of the Scottish towns. Ever since 1652 they had been debarred from electing their municipal magistrates, partly on account of the disturbances caused by the Glencairn rising.² On September 24, 1655, a proclamation was issued giving them full liberty to elect their magistrates, on condition that the name of the Protector was substituted for that of the King in the oaths they took on entering office.³ Henceforth their annual elections were regularly held. Monck's opinion was that the inhabitants of the boroughs were generally the most faithful people to the English interest of any in the nation; and he was particularly anxious that they should not be too heavily taxed. He intervened with decisive effect in 1657, when the Protector was pressed to interpose in the choice of the magistrates of Glasgow. Nothing, he said, could be so impolitic. 'Because all the boroughs in Scotland (being incorporated into one body) were the very first that owned us, and submitted to us, and have ever since lived peaceably under us, and whose interest is most agreeable with ours, by reason of their

¹ Thurloe, vi. 52, 686.

² Terry, *The Cromwellian Union*, p. 60; Thurloe, iv. 52; Nicoll, *Diary*, pp. 87, 92, 101, 114, 115, 138.

³ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 56; cf. Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 280; Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 159.

trade and traffic, and so more easily to be interwoven with ours, and therefore tenderly and carefully to be cherished by us. To disoblige one is to disoblige all.' ^{CHAP. XIII} ¹⁶⁵⁵⁻⁸ ¹

The absence of trade and the weight of taxation prevented the towns from becoming really prosperous. Edinburgh was deeply in debt and heavily burdened by local as well as general taxes, in the assessment of which it was complained that 'the mean, middle and poor sort of the people of Edinburgh were the only sufferers,' while the rich and powerful escaped.² Inverness was considerably enriched by the large English garrisons kept there; while Glasgow flourished exceedingly. 'Our town,' wrote Robert Baillie, 'in its proportion, thrives above all the land. The Word of God is well loved and regarded, albeit not as it ought and we desire; yet in no town of our land better. Our people has much more trade in comparison than any other; their buildings increase strangely both for number and fairness; it's more than doubled in our time.'³ 'The inhabitants, all but the students of the college,' says ¹⁶⁵⁶ an English visitor, 'are traders and dealers. Some for Ireland with small smithy coals in open boats from four to ten tons, from whence they bring hoops, rungs, barrel-staves, meal, oats and butter; some for France with plaiding, coals, and herring (of which there is a great fishing yearly in the western sea) for which they return, salt, paper, resin, and prunes; some to Norway for timber; and every one with their neighbours the Highlanders, who come hither from the Isles and Western parts . . . and pass up in the Clyde with plaiding, dry hides, goat, kid, and deer skins, which they sell,

¹ Thurloe, iv. 529, 557; cf. Nicoll, *Diary*, pp. 202, 205, 211, and Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 346, 348, 354, 361.

² Nicoll, *Diary*, pp. 171, 182, 187, 189, 207.

³ Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 319. Mr. Laing adds in a note that the population of Glasgow in 1610 was 7644; in 1660, 14,678.

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and purchase with their price such commodities and provisions as they stand in need of. Here hath likewise been some who have adventured as far as the Barbadoes; but the loss they have sustained by reason of their going out and coming home late every year, have made them discontinue going thither any more.' Yet this great commercial centre only possessed twelve ships in 1656, of which the largest was but 150 tons burden, and five were under 50 tons. On the east coast the chief ports were Kirkcaldy, Dundee, Montrose, and Aberdeen: the first owned a dozen ships, of which the largest was 100 tons, while Aberdeen possessed but nine, of which the largest was 80 tons. The goods exported by these and smaller coast towns were chiefly coal and salt, but there was a little trade in wool, hides, and salmon. Leith, according to the English commissioner of customs, who has recorded these facts, was 'the chief port of all Scotland' and 'a storehouse not only for her own traders but also for the merchants of the city of Edinburgh; and did not that city, jealous of her own safety, obstruct and impede the growing of this place, it would, from her slave, in a few years become her rival.' Leith possessed twelve or fourteen vessels, two or three of which were 200 or 300 tons apiece, and traded with Norway, the Baltic, the Low Countries, and France, as well as with England. From the whole report it is clear that there was very little foreign trade, and practically no trade with the English colonies.¹ The view that the Navigation Act of Charles II 'blighted the infant progress of Scotland in wealth and enterprise' is untenable.²

¹ Report by Thomas Tucker upon the settlement of the Revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland. Bannatyne Club, 1834. The report is dated November 20, 1656.

² Burton, *History of Scotland*, ed. 1874, vii. 122. Macaulay also

One of the duties of the Council was to make out an exact account of the revenue and expenditure, in order to increase one and diminish the other. The expenses of governing and holding Scotland were extremely heavy. The civil government cost in 1655 about £25,000 a year, rather more than less. 'The sequestrations, crown rents, customs, and casual revenue will but defray the charge of the civil list, and hardly that,' said a memorandum dated July 20, 1654.¹ The cost of the army of occupation remained to be defrayed from other sources. The military charges amounted to £33,000 per month at the beginning of 1653, rose to £41,000 per month during 1654 (when Glencairn's rising swelled the number of troops in Scotland), and stood at about £28,000 a month in the latter part of 1655.²

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1655

About three-quarters of the sum needed for the army of occupation had to be provided out of the English treasury, and the rest came from a direct tax levied in Scotland itself. On October 16, 1652, Parliament had ordered that an assessment of £10,000 per month

greatly exaggerates the prosperity of Scotland during the Protectorate, chap. xiii, vol. iv, p. 264, ed. 1858. See Miss Kerth's article on 'Scottish Trade with the Plantations before 1707,' *Scottish Historical Review*, vi. 32. The Navigation Act did not destroy Scottish trade with the Colonies, but prevented it from springing up.

¹ Thurloe, ii. 476. There seem to be no complete statements of revenue and expenditure available before 1656. A paper headed, 'The rental of the whole revenue of Scotland as it was produced before the Committee of Parliament in June 1650,' gives a total of £17,610 English money (Thurloe, i. 153). The customs of Scotland amounted in 1654 to £9000 per annum. *Antiquarian Repertory*, ii. 3.

² Three months' pay for the forces in Scotland during January to April, 1653, came to £99,526, of which £12,500 was for fortifications. Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 114-9. An estimate of the monthly charge, dated June, 1654, comes to £41,235 per month, of which about £5000 was for fortifications (Thurloe, ii. 476). Another estimate a little later in 1654 came to £35,802 per month and about £3900 for fortifications. Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 217. The establishment for the army in Scotland fixed July 26, 1655, came to £24,992 per month for pay and contingencies without any allowance for fortifications. That fixed December 21, 1657, amounted to £20,818 for pay and contingencies.

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1653-7

should be raised in Scotland for the support of the army, from March, 1653. It proved impossible, however, to raise more than £8500 a month in 1653; while next year, during the insurrection, the sum collected fell to £6000 and £4000 successively. After the insurrection ended Monck reported that not more than £7300 a month could be raised, and that only with great difficulty, 'because of the great destruction and waste made by the enemy, and of what we found necessary to destroy that they might be deprived of sustenance, and the great decay of trade in all parts of Scotland.' The Council was petitioned by all the shires in Scotland for a reduction of the cess; but it did nothing save to invent a cheaper way of collecting it.¹

In 1657 the question of revising the assessment came before Parliament. Monck pleaded urgently on behalf of Scotland with Thurloe. 'I must desire you will consider this poor country. . . . I can make it appear that one way or another they pay one hundred pounds out of four for their assessment. . . . Unless there be some course taken that they may come in equality with England, it will go hard with this people; and it will be one of the greatest obligations they can have to the present government to bring them to an equality; and then in case they be not quiet, I think it were just reason to plant it with English.'² In Parliament, officers who knew Scotland were equally emphatic. 'I cannot express the poverty of Scotland,' said Dr. Clarges; 'Ireland has too few inhabitants and it has too many.' 'It is a very poor country,' said Captain Lilburne, 'and unless near the south side they make little of their grounds, being only mosses and sheep rakes.'³ The result was that the assessment was reduced

¹ *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. lv. 212, 295; Thurloe, iv. 127, 160.

² Thurloe, vi. 330.

³ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 213, 214.

to £6000 per month from June 24, 1657, and remained at that figure till the Restoration.¹ This gave some satisfaction, though it was alleged that the sum was still proportionately too high, since Scotland paid one-sixth of the sum England did, though the wealth of Scotland was one-twelfth that of England; others said one-sixteenth or one-twentieth would be nearer the mark.²

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1655-7

To make up the deficiency on the assessment the Council of Scotland had been instructed to erect an Exchequer Court, in order to recover rents and other dues of the Crown which had been withheld,³ and to establish a new tax, namely the excise, which had not hitherto been paid in Scotland. To aid in the establishment of the latter and the reorganisation of the customs, an experienced English official named Thomas Tucker was sent to Edinburgh. A proclamation imposing the excise was published on September 26, 1655;⁴ and in a few months the duties on ale, beer, and

¹ *Commons' Journals*, vii. 554; *Scobell*, ii. 491. The assessment on the three kingdoms was lowered from £80,000 per month, of which sum Ireland and Scotland paid £10,000 apiece, to £50,000 per month, of which Ireland paid £9000, Scotland £6000, and England £35,000.

² 'The Scotch gentlemen above are well satisfied with it; the Scotch gentlemen here think it very much, in regard they pay above a sixth part, and they reckon England sixteen times better than Scotland, which I believe it is and more too.' Monck to Thurloe, June 16, 1657. *Thurloe*, vi. 352. Downing said that the commissioners of the Long Parliament in 1652 calculated that the wealth of Scotland was one-twelfth of that of England and the population one-tenth. *Burton, Diary*, ii. 214. The Scottish negotiator for the Union in 1653 seems to have argued that the proportionate wealth of the two countries was as one to twenty. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1652-3, p. 46.

³ The chief authority on the Excise is Tucker's Report printed by the Bannatyne Club. See also *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1655, pp. 109, 171. *Thurloe*, iv. 48, 105, 526-30; vi. 445. *Commons' Journals*, vii. 628, 640 (estimates of Scottish revenues for 1659). *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 206, 225. On the Court of Exchequer, see *Thurloe*, iv. 57, 106, 524. *Firth, Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 387. *Thurloe*, vii. 59. *Nicoll's Diary*, pp. 173, 175.

⁴ The order of the English Council for establishing the excise in Scotland was dated May 22, 1655, but it was not proclaimed at Edinburgh till September 26. *Nicoll's Diary*, p. 161. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. ii. 827.

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aqua vitae had been let to farmers for £35,000 a year, and that on foreign and native salt for £1910. The customs revenue was less satisfactory. It brought in during 1655 about £9000, but of that sum over half went in the cost of collection. But in 1658 the revenue from the excise of liquors was raised to £47,000, the customs farmed out for £12,500, and the export tax on coal and the salt tax leased for a further sum of £3880.¹ Thus at the close of the Protectorate the indirect taxes in general brought in about £63,000, and this more than compensated for the reduction of the assessment from about £90,000 to £72,000 per annum.

As between 1655 and 1658 the cost of the civil government of Scotland was reduced by about £3500 per annum,² and the military charges by not less than £50,000 per annum, the sum which England had to contribute was much diminished. She was still paying at the end of 1658 about £163,000 a year.³ But the financial achievements of the government had their drawbacks. The pay of the army in December, 1657, had fallen much behindhand. 'The officers,' wrote Monck, 'think themselves very hardly dealt withal that they are not paid equal with those forces in England.' It was hard for them to be so much in arrear, because they were 'so far distant from their relations and small fortunes, and lie many of them in remote garrisons wherein they suffer much hardship.'

¹ The export tax on coal was originally fixed at 8s. per ton in the case of foreigners, and 4s. in the case of Scots. But these duties were so heavy that they threatened to destroy the trade altogether; and on the petition of the Earl of Wemyss, backed by the Scottish Council, they were reduced to 5s. and 2s. 6d. respectively. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 286, 318, 332.

² Thurloe, iv. 529; vi. 445, 471. Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 366.

³ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 298, 305. Mr. Scawen's report to Parliament on April 7, 1659, stated the Scottish revenue to be about £143,000, and the expenditure about £307,000. *Commons' Journals*, vii. 628, 630.

Further, though the cavalry regiments were changed from time to time, the foot regiments were not relieved in the same way.¹ The army in Scotland was out of touch with the army in England, and somewhat jealous of it.

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1658

As to the people, the system of farming the indirect taxes led to many abuses. One English financier, Thomas Noel, farmed the salt tax, the coal tax, the foreign excise and the customs. 'Mr. Noel's creatures,' wrote an English officer, 'make most sad work here about the salt, resolving to make a mere monopoly of it. Be assured, sir, that farmers of this nature will ruin all trades but their own.'² The taxation was not only extremely heavy in itself, but rendered more burthensome by the great impoverishment of the country through the long wars. 'I do think truly they are a very ruined nation,' said Cromwell in January, 1658. To the same effect wrote Baillie, two months after the Protector's death: 'The country lies very quiet; it is exceeding poor; trade is nought; the English have all the money.'³ Cromwell saw one hopeful sign in the condition of Scotland. The 'middle sort' and 'the meaner sort' were becoming more prosperous, and less oppressed than they had been. 'The meaner sort live as well, and are likely to come into as thriving a condition under your government, as when they were under their great lords, who made them work for their living no better than the peasants of France. . . . The middle sort of this people grow up into such a subsistence as makes their lives comfortable, if not better than they were before.'⁴

¹ Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 53, 289, 373.

² Thurloe, vii. 354.

³ Baillie, iii. 387.

⁴ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Speech xvii, January 25, 1658. Cf. Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 335.

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1654-8

The power of the nobility was broken, partly by the results of the war, partly by the results of the English occupation with its legal changes and its impartial enforcement of the law. Baillie describes the condition of the great families of Scotland in 1654. 'Our nobility are well near all wrecked. Duke Hamilton, the one executed, the other slain; their estate forfeited, one part of it gifted to English soldiers; the rest will not pay the debt; little left to the heretrix; almost the whole name undone with debt. Huntley executed; his sons all dead but the younger; there is more debt on the house than the land can pay. . . . Argyle almost drowned in debt, in friendship with the English, but in hatred with the country.'¹ By 1658 Argyle had lost the friendship of the English; he was regarded as probably treacherous and certainly dangerous. When he sought to be a member of Parliament in 1656 the Council 'put a spoke in his wheel'; and he was not permitted even to be a justice of the peace for Argyleshire. 'Not so much as a constable,' ran Thurloe's instruction to Broghil; and even Monck, who had at first been more favourable to him, came at last to the conclusion that 'in his heart there is no man in the three nations does more disaffect the English interest than he.'² As with the great houses so with the smaller; Baillie's summary of their position in 1658 is an echo of his earlier lament. 'Our noble families are almost gone. . . . The Gordons are gone; the Douglasses little better; Eglinton and Glencairn on the brink of breaking; many of our chief families' estates are cracking; nor is there any appearance of any human relief for the time.'³

Under these conditions it was not surprising that

¹ Baillie, iii. 249.

² Thurloe, iv. 250; v. 295. Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 411.

³ Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 387.

the Scottish nobility remained permanently hostile. They plotted against the government, and welcomed from time to time the emissaries of Charles II. But, as they were ruined and deprived of their political influence, their hostility was powerless to hurt, and they were much less dangerous than the English Cavaliers. Monck felt confident of his power to suppress any possible recurrence of Glencairn's rising. In December, 1654, it was rumoured that Charles II was about to land in Scotland. 'In case he comes,' said Monck, 'I doubt not but we shall, through the blessing of God, keep him back in such a country where he cannot ride or travel but in trousers and a plaid.' In June, 1656, there was a similar report: Charles was coming with 4000 men supplied by the Spaniards. 'It may be true,' was Monck's comment, 'but by God's blessing we may be able to make them weary of that work very soon after their landing.'¹ This confidence was based on the excellence of Monck's military dispositions, which enabled him, while holding his garrisons, to take the field with a force sufficient to nip any rising in the bud. 'Our forces here,' he declared in November, 1657, 'do always lie in a ready posture for service; and upon any occasion we can draw them into a body. The same course was always taken since I came hither, and shall be as long as I continue.'²

In addition to this he had organised so complete a system of intelligence that no intended movement amongst the Royalists could escape his knowledge. He employed spies freely and paid them liberally. Colonel Borthwick, who was sent to Scotland with letters from Charles to Glencairn and other noblemen, was betrayed by his brother, Major Borthwick, who copied his letters and ciphers and forwarded them to

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¹ Thurloe, iii. 3; v. 348.

² Ib. vi. 642.

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1654-8 Monck.¹ Another ex-Royalist, Colonel Blackader, was dispatched to Cologne, ostensibly charged with letters from Scottish malcontents to the King, really to insinuate himself into Middleton's plans.² Through Sir James Macdonnell, a priest was procured to supply intelligence from Spain.³ Through a minister, Mr. John Drummond, information of the designs and movements of the heads of the Highland clans was regularly supplied.⁴ At any crisis, when the Royalist plots seemed to be coming to a head, Monck arrested the leading noblemen and chiefs of clans who were implicated; and when the crisis was over released them under heavy bonds for good behaviour. Glencairn, Lorne, Seaforth, and others were thus from time to time imprisoned; indeed, the two former spent most of their time in prison.⁵

These measures were so efficient that, by the close of the Protectorate, any serious projects for a new insurrection seemed to Monck to be abandoned. 'I do not see,' he wrote in January, 1658, 'the Scots look so much after Charles Stuart's business but the hopes they have of discontents among ourselves: what ground they have for it I know not.'⁶ By that date he had so thoroughly purged the army in Scotland of disaffected officers and soldiers, and of Fifth-Monarchy men, Quakers, and all others whose principles seemed likely to lead to disobedience, that a mutiny amongst his own forces was extremely improbable. But the

¹ Thurloe, iv. 104, 163, 187, 250, 741, 769; v. 301, 456, 698. When Glencairn was arrested the Royalists believed, very unjustly, that Col. Borthwick had betrayed him. Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 317.

² *Ib.* iv. 221, 223, 250, 324, 741.

³ *Ib.* iv. 700, 725; v. 18.

⁴ *Ib.* iv. 318, 400, 569, 646; v. 603.

⁵ On Glencairn see Thurloe, iv. 342, 700; vi. 436; on Lorne, iv. 401; v. 18, 604; vi. 436, 468; on Seaforth, v. 500; on Selkirk, v. 556. Besides these other noblemen were imprisoned. Thurloe, vi. 81.

⁶ *Ib.* vi. 745.

Royalists persistently believed that Cromwell was jealous of Monck, and that Monck was secretly hostile to Cromwell. 'It is reported,' said a newsletter in March, 1658, 'that the Protector cannot take his natural sleep at night but cries out upon "Monck, Monck."'¹ These reports encouraged a Royalist to write to Monck urging him to declare for the King. 'I hope it is a presage of what God will put into your heart to do; and truly sir you cannot do anything which will more advance your salvation, nor bring greater honour to yourself and family. . . . If the King be restored to his undoubted right by your means—as I know he may, if you do that which is in your power to do—you may make yourself and family what you desire, which is more than you can hope for from that tyrant who keeps faith with none; for when his own turn be served, he cares not if his instruments are hanged; nay he very often hangs them himself. And this I believe you are not ignorant of. Look at Lambert and several others of his creatures, how he hath served them. Think it may be your own turn next. . . . And what you do, do it suddenly; for your time will not be long in that government else, for that great monster is plotting how to remove you.'

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Monck was not merely indignant, but highly incensed. He sent a copy of the letter to Secretary Thurloe, saying that he conceived it 'a knavish trick of some Scotchman' for which he would make the Scots pay. 'In case this nation should break out again, such as take Charles Stuart's part, I hope God will so enable me, as I make them smart for this roguery.'²

¹ *Fifth Report, Historical MSS. Comm.*, p. 166; Thurloe, vi. 863, 873; Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 727.

² July 3, 1658. Thurloe, vii. 232, 268. A week later Monck caught the messenger who carried the letter, and announced his intention of sending the man to Barbadoes if he refused to reveal its author.

Guizot, in his *Life of Monck* (translation by Wortley, p. 85), prints a letter

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If these reports were intended to sow suspicion between Monck and Cromwell they failed in their effect. Monck's fidelity to the Protector was unshaken. The Protector, who had once termed Monck 'honest' and 'simple-hearted,' was convinced of his trustworthiness, and felt that Scotland was safe in his hands.¹ It was not Monck's fault that he had failed to reconcile Scotland to English rule. The loss of national independence was bitterly resented, and the wounds of war were too fresh to be healed yet. Sober Scots, however, admitted that, everything considered, the conquered nation had not been treated with excessive harshness by England. 'We were favourably dealt with,' wrote one. 'Thus much I owe that nation.' Monck himself, despite his severities, was not unpopular. It was felt that he was a just man, and had the welfare of the country at heart. One writer goes so far as to describe him as 'a very good kindly Scotchman and beloved of all.' 'The general,' says another, after describing the popularity of Lord Broghil, 'was no less beloved of this nation at this time, for his singular wisdom and carriage to all that had address to him. And much more might be recorded of the carriage and behaviour of most part of the English, namely of the councillors, judges, officers and commanders; who for that cause conquered the love of much people for the time being.'²

supposed to have been written to Monck by Charles II, dated August 12, 1655. The letter is printed in the *Thurloe Papers* (iv. 162), and is also to be found amongst the *Clarendon Papers* (Calendar, vol. iii. p. 53). In reality it was intended for the Earl of Atholl (*Thurloe*, iv. 250, 324). The story told in Peter Barwick's *Life of Dr. John Barwick* refers to this letter, and is therefore an obvious blunder (ed. 1724, pp. 268, 397). This view is strengthened by Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xvi. 98. In the article on Monck in the *Dictionary of National Biography* I was misled by Guizot's acceptance of the letter.

¹ *Clarke Papers*, ii. 242.

² *Memoirs of the Somervells*, ii. 458; *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. 396; Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 183.

CHAPTER XIV

HENRY CROMWELL IN IRELAND

THE task of Henry Cromwell in Ireland was similar to that of Monck in Scotland, but far harder. The conquest of Ireland had involved a longer, bloodier, and more devastating war than that of Scotland. The animosity which existed between English and Scots was as nothing compared to that which English and Irish felt for each other. Henry Cromwell had not merely to substitute civil for military rule, but to reconstruct the fabric of society. Monck was a military governor whose business was to force a recalcitrant people to submit to a foreign rule. Henry Cromwell was something more, for as the governor of a colony he was bound to secure the co-operation and the support of the colonists, if his policy was to be successful. His task was further complicated by the divisions amongst the colonists themselves—divisions both political and religious. Part of them had fought for the monarchy and part for the republic; some were Episcopalians, some Presbyterians, some Independents, some Anabaptists. His mission in Ireland was to unite the different parties and sects amongst the Protestants, not merely to complete the distribution of the confiscated lands of the natives.

He landed at Dublin on July 9, 1655, furnished with commissions as commander-in-chief of the army and member of the Irish Council. Fleetwood left for England on September 6 following.¹

¹ Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 338, 340.

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Henry Cromwell was probably the best choice the Protector could have made for the work which lay before the Irish government. He was capable, clear-headed; and of inflexible honesty. Though he had no experience as an administrator he knew something of Ireland, for he had served there a couple of years as colonel of horse. On the other hand he had certain defects of character, which were aggravated by his want of political experience, and by the difficulties of his position.

Fleetwood had favoured the extreme sectaries—Anabaptists, as they were loosely called—at the expense of all the other sects into which the Protestant colonists were divided. It was said that twelve governors of cities, ten colonels, and a number of other officers and officials belonged to that particular persuasion. Greedy of power, they were not inclined to submit to any equal partition of authority, arrogated to themselves the title of ‘the godly,’ and claimed as a consequence the sole right to govern.¹ All were strong republicans, and many were openly disaffected to the Protector’s government. Henry Cromwell’s difficulty in dealing with them was increased by his anomalous position. Fleetwood retained the title of Lord Deputy and remained the nominal head of the Irish government, while the duties of the post and the responsibility of governing fell to his brother-in-law. The result was that as soon as Fleetwood left Ireland a struggle broke out amongst the English colonists over the question of the deputyship. In November, 1655, petitions for the appointment of Henry as Lord Deputy were circulated amongst the conservative section of the Independents in the army, and received numerous signatures. This was done without Henry’s privity.² The leaders

¹ Thurloe, iv. 91, 197.

² Ib. iv. 197, 327, 348, 422.

of the Anabaptists, headed by Colonel Hewson, drew up a protest complaining that these petitions were a covert attack on Fleetwood, and asserting that the movement did not rise from affection to Henry Cromwell or the Protector, but from the desire of its promoters to weaken 'the godly interest' for their private ends.¹ The Protector's reply to this protest took the form of a letter to Hewson, which was circulated by the opposition as a proof that Cromwell disapproved of the proposal.² Finally both parties agreed upon a compromise, petitioning that Fleetwood might be raised to the rank of Lord Lieutenant, and that if he were detained in England Henry might be appointed Lord Deputy under him.³

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Nothing came of these petitions; but the heart-burnings they caused made Henry's position exceedingly uncomfortable. In July, 1657, when another petition for his appointment as Lord Deputy was forwarded to England by some of his friends, he urged Secretary Thurloe to suppress it. 'The former petition, how little soever I had to do with it, I account one of the chief disasters of my life.' Moreover, he predicted that the Protector would not hear of it. 'I know that his Highness's rule is that those who are most unfit for government do most earnestly seek it.'⁴

For two years the struggle with the Anabaptists continued. Major-General Vernon publicly preached against Henry, saying that it was a great judgment for the people of God to be under young or wicked governors, such being apt to be lifted up and to believe lying reports against poor saints. As he showed favour to some of the moderate clergy he was accused

¹ Thurloe, iv. 276, 348.

² Ib. iv. 328, 349, 373, 422. Cromwell's letter has not survived.

³ Ib. iv. 421, 422.

⁴ Ib. vi. 446.

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 XIV Absalom; and it was declared that he was endeavouring
 1655-6 to grasp unlawful power at the expense of his father
 and to steal away the hearts of the people.¹ Henry,
 who was absurdly sensitive to criticism, felt these
 attacks deeply, though Thurloe urged him not to take
 them to heart. 'Hard sayings, yea reproaches and
 worse, is the portion of the best men in these uncertain
 and giddy times, and you must not think to go shot
 free.'² At one time Henry seriously thought of resign-
 ing, to which Thurloe replied by recommending him to
 imitate his father's example. 'If opposition, reproach,
 July 8, hard thoughts and speeches of all sorts, would have
 1656 made his Highness to have quitted his relation to the
 public, he had surely done it long since. And I persuade
 myself your lordship is not ignorant how he hath
 been exercised in this kind. Everybody can keep his
 place when all men applaud him, and speak well of him;
 but not to faint in the day of adversity is the matter.
 He that looks for more than his own integrity and
 sincerity in public work at this time of day for his
 reward, will be mistaken; and truly he that hath that
 can look difficulties enough in the face.'³

One reason for Henry's wish to retire was the feeling
 that he was not sufficiently supported by the govern-
 ment in England. He suspected that Fleetwood was
 intriguing against him and secretly counter-working his
 policy. 'Take heed of giving way to jealous sug-
 gestions,' wrote Fleetwood, filling his letters with
 protestations of affection and complaints of being
 misunderstood.⁴ Fleetwood was not an intriguer, but

¹ Thurloe, iv. 328, 348; vi. 505.

² Ib. iv. 373.

³ Ib. v. 177, 196.

⁴ See Fleetwood's numerous letters to Henry Cromwell amongst the *Lansdowne MSS.*, especially that of December 4, 1655.

a tool in the hands of stronger men, and Henry Cromwell's suspicions were not unnatural.

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Henry was also inclined to believe that the charges circulated against him were too readily entertained by his father. He thought the Protector 'apt to be jealous of his relations.' 'His Highness,' he once complained to Thurloe, 'deals with me as with a son indeed; that is, as with one in whom filial obedience must make all things swallow easily well.'¹ Instead of backing up his son through thick and thin, the Protector left him to fight his own battle. 'He knoweth your frame exceeding well,' wrote Henry's father-in-law, Sir Francis Russell, to Henry.² Oliver was well aware that some of Henry's difficulties were his own fault; that he was quick-tempered and impatient of opposition, inclined to attribute difference of opinion to moral obliquity, and too eager to crush his opponents.³ The advice which the Protector gave his son proves this. 'There may be,' he wrote in November, 1655, 'some particular persons who are not very pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to show their discontents as they have opportunity; but this should not make too great impressions in you. Time and patience may work them to a better spirit, and bring them to see that which, for the present, seems hid from them; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you, which I earnestly desire you to study and endeavour all that lies in you.'⁴ Again, about six months later, the Protector wrote: 'Take heed of being over jealous,⁵ lest your apprehensions

¹ Thurloe, iv. 348; vi. 447.

² *Lansdowne MSS.*

³ Henry admitted his defects of temper. Thurloe, iv. 349, 376.

⁴ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter ccvii, November 21, 1655.

⁵ 'Jealous,' i.e. suspicious.

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of others cause you to offend. Know that uprightness will preserve you ; in this be confident against men. I think the Anabaptists to blame in not being pleased with you. That's their fault. It will not reach you, whilst you with singleness of heart make the glory of God your aim. . . . Take care of making it a business to be too hard for the men who contest with you. Being over concerned may train you into a snare. I have to do with these poor men and am not without my exercise. I know they are weak, because they are so peremptory in judging others. I quarrel not with them but in their seeking to supplant others ; which is done by some, first by branding them with antichristianism, and then by taking away their maintenance. Be not troubled with the late business : we understand the men.'¹

Time and experience in dealing with men taught Henry tact, patience, and self-control. He told the Anabaptists at the beginning that they might 'expect equal liberty both in their civil and religious concerns with any others' ; and they found that he kept his word. By degrees their opposition subsided, and in November, 1656, four of their leaders resigned their commissions and gave up the struggle. Other leading men amongst them began to court Henry, to give him fair words to his face, and to commend him for 'holding forth a just liberty to those fearing God.' At the close of the year he felt able to report : 'Things here are brought to an indifferent good pass. The Anabaptists, and others whose ways and principles were inconsistent with settlement and our interest, do find themselves disabled from doing much harm.'² From the first the conservative section of the Independents had supported him, and he was now becoming

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter ccviii.

² Thurloe, i. 731 ; iv. 433 ; v. 670, 710, 729.

popular with other classes of the English colony. Very favourable reports of his success as a governor began to reach the Protector. Vincent Gookin reported in February, 1657, that Cromwell, speaking of his son to Thurloe and another councillor, 'gave him the highest and [most] well-grounded applauses imaginable, with tears of joy on his cheeks.' 'His Highness,' wrote Russell to Henry a few months later, 'mentions you with a kind of delight and satisfaction.'¹ Henry's promotion to the post of Lord Deputy, on November 16, 1657, was a proof of this satisfaction, and a sign that his political apprenticeship was over.

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The position of a Lord Deputy during this period did not imply a great amount of independence. England's reconquest of Ireland had been followed by a readjustment of the constitutional relations of the two countries, which destroyed the last vestige of Irish autonomy. The Long Parliament, acting on the view that a subordinate legislature was unnecessary, abolished the Irish Parliament without the formality of a special act.² The terms of the union were settled by the predominant partner.

In the discussions on the 'bill for calling a new representative' the Long Parliament had voted, on March 2, 1653, that Ireland should be represented by thirty members in a house of 460;³ and this provision had been adopted in article nine of the Instrument, which is entitled 'The government of England, Scotland, and Ireland.' In article ten the definition of the constituencies by which the thirty members were to be returned was left to the Protector; and by his ordinance

¹ Thurloe, vi. 37. Sir Francis Russell to Henry Cromwell, October 29, 1657: *Lansdowne MSS.*

² The Irish Parliament sat last for business in 1642, though it had been continued by prorogations till 1646.

³ *Commons' Journals*, vii. 227, 263.

CHAP. of June 27, 1654, the Protector grouped together
 XIV various counties and boroughs for that purpose.¹
 1654-6

The Irish commissioners advised the Protector's government that, in view of the unsettled and desolate condition of the country, it was undesirable to hold elections, and best for the government to nominate the representatives of Ireland by writ. But this was overruled, and the first elections took place in August, 1654.² Since Catholics and persons involved in the rebellion were excluded from voting there were few electors, and the successful member for the counties of Kildare and Wicklow received but fifty-eight votes. Most of the members returned were officers of the army, for country gentlemen regarded the post of member as a burden to be avoided.³ But in the elections of 1656, when the country was more settled, the position was altered, the number of voters was larger, and there were warm contests for a seat.⁴

Both the parliaments called by Cromwell, though they raised no objection to the presence of the representatives of Ireland, regarded the union of the two legislatures as legally incomplete. A bill for the uniting of Ireland unto the Commonwealth of England was introduced in the Parliament of 1654, and one for the same object passed through two readings in the Parliament of 1656.⁵ The latter assembly did not include Cromwell's ordinance for the distribution of elections in Ireland amongst those it confirmed, and though article four of the Petition and Advice intimated that members

¹ Scobell, ii. 317. The scheme seems to have been drawn up by Lambert. *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, p. 800. Six representatives for Ireland sat in the Little Parliament. Gardiner, ii. 232.

² Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 387; Thurloe, ii. 445.

Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 387. *Report on the MSS. of Lord Egmont*, pp. 544, 549, 553.

⁴ Thurloe, v. 213, 229, 278, 327, 336, 343, 398, 443, 477.

⁵ *Commons' Journals*, vii. 415, 454, 455, 459.

from Ireland were to sit in future parliaments, their number and the method of election were left unsettled.¹ Since the Petition was regarded as annulling the Instrument, and Parliament was dissolved before it made further provision, the inclusion of Irish representatives in the next Parliament seemed to many very doubtful.²

In practice the authority of England over Ireland was exercised by the Protector and Council of State rather than by Parliament. They appointed, subject to the subsequent approval of Parliament, the representatives of the authority of England in that country. The administration of Ireland, after the termination of Cromwell's tenure of the post of Lord Lieutenant (June 22, 1652), had been in the hands of four commissioners. The Protector put an end to their authority on August 27, 1654, raising Fleetwood, who since July 9, 1652, had been commander-in-chief there, to the rank of Lord Deputy. A council was appointed to assist him, whose members were Richard Pepys, William Steele, Miles Corbet, Matthew Thomlinson, Robert Goodwin, and Robert Hammond.³ To this council Henry Cromwell had been added on December 25, 1654; and on November 16, 1657, he succeeded Fleetwood as Lord Deputy.⁴

His council consisted of five members: Steele, Pepys, Corbet, Thomlinson, and William Bury.⁵ The

¹ Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, ed. 1899, pp. 444, 446, 452; cf. Burton, *Diary*, iv. 94, 122, 180.

² Thurloe, vii. 193; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 142, 151.

³ For the instructions to the Council, see Thurloe, ii. 506 (they are also reprinted in the appendix to Bruce's *Report on the Union with Scotland*, p. 221), and *Cal. State Papers (Irish)*, 1647-60, p. 824, for additional instructions in 1656.

⁴ Gardiner, iii. 337; appendix to the *Fourteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Irish Records*, pp. 27, 28.

⁵ For their instructions, see *Cal. State Papers (Irish)*, 1647-60, p. 849; and for comments, Thurloe, vi. 599, 608, 632. William Bury had been added to the

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1654-6 powers entrusted to Deputy and Council and the policy they were to pursue were specified in the instructions drawn up for them by the English Council of State; and that body frequently intervened in personal matters, besides exercising a general control over the administration of Ireland.

The Council included amongst its members the heads of the judicatory. The conclusion of the war had been marked by the erection of a High Court of Justice for the trial of persons guilty of murder during the Rebellion, and that court continued at work from December, 1652, to June, 1654. Its president was Sir Gerard Lowther, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland since 1634.¹ The commissioners appointed in 1650 and 1652 had been instructed to make provision for the administration of justice, in order that so far as possible the inhabitants might be governed in accordance with the laws and constitution of England.² In Munster the energetic John Cooke, who had been appointed chief of that province in December, 1649, earned the praise of Cromwell by the summary and expeditious way in which he determined causes, and by his zeal for law reform.³ On September 25, 1654, Richard Pepys, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in England, was appointed Chief Justice of Ireland, and his arrival was speedily followed by the revival of the Four Courts. Chief Justice Pepys presided over the Common Pleas, with John Cooke as his colleague; Miles Corbet became Chief Baron of the

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Council on August 4, 1656; Hammond died in October, 1654; Goodwin was left out as unsatisfactory. Thurloe, v. 214; vi. 599, 648.

¹ Gardiner, iii. 304; Hickson, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, ii. 171.

² *Commons' Journals*, vi. 479; vii. 167. Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Cromwell to John Sadler, December 31, 1649, appendix 17.

³ See the preface to Cooke's *Monarchy no Creature of God's Making*, 1652, and Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 246.

Exchequer, assisted by Edward Carew ; Chief Justice Lowther and Mr. Donellan took charge of the Upper Bench. The two Chief Justices and the Chief Baron were Keepers of the Great Seal and sat in Chancery. Next year the appointment of William Steele as Lord Chancellor of Ireland (August 26, 1656) completed the work of reorganisation.¹ Of these seven persons five were English, since it was difficult to find in Ireland able lawyers of whose loyalty the government felt assured.² The Protector had hoped to see the work of reforming the law, which proved so difficult in England, taken in hand in Ireland, saying that 'Ireland was as a clean paper, and capable of being governed by such laws as should be found most agreeable to justice, which might be so impartially administered as to be a good precedent even to England itself.'³ Chancellor Steele earned a reputation as a man 'of great prudence and uncorrupted integrity,' but none of the Irish judges showed much zeal for reform, though it was frequently commended to the attention of the government of Ireland.⁴ However, the mere restoration of the reign of law was in itself a boon to the country, for it put an end to the arbitrary rule of the military party. As Vincent Gookin told the Protector: 'The reviving of the courts of judicature brought the current of civil and martial administrations into distinct channels ; and consequently all officers of the army as such ceased to be any longer civil justiciaries

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¹ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1655, pp. 48, 206. Thurloe, i. 731 ; ii. 733 ; iii. 196, 305, 407, 549 ; v. 214.

² On Lowther see *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxiv. 223. On Donellan see Thurloe, iv. 376.

³ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 246.

⁴ Steele, however, had been a member of the committee for the reformation of the law appointed by the Long Parliament (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 74). On the reform of the law, see Thurloe, iii. 697.

CHAP. and dispensers of fines and death at their discretions ;
 XIV till then all went as they would have it.' ¹

1655-8 The substitution of a normal civil government for military rule was the leading characteristic of the period from 1655 to 1658. Its progress was marked by the gradual reduction of the army. In 1652 the army had numbered 34,128 men, exclusive of officers.² In September, 1654, it amounted to about 23,115 men, including officers.³ By the establishment of September 2, 1655, it was reduced to some 16,000 officers and men, and it stood at much the same figure in 1658.⁴ To make up for this reduction the English government proposed in July, 1655, to establish a militia of horse like that set up at the same time in England, and Henry Cromwell in 1656 put forward a plan for a militia of horse and foot, consisting entirely of Protestants and old soldiers serving without pay. But neither of these schemes appears to have been carried out.⁵

In spite of the restoration of peace and the progress of the settlement, the maintenance of a considerable army was still necessary. It was a consequence of the nature of the settlement. Henry Cromwell came to Ireland to carry out the policy of partial instead of general transplantation.⁶ Only proprietors of land and men who had borne arms were henceforth to be transplanted to Connaught. But even with this

¹ Thurloe v. 647.

² Gardiner, iii. 324 ; Ludlow, i. 295, 497.

³ *Antiquarian Repertory*, iii. 112. This was an estimate rather than an exact return ; cf. Ludlow, i. 360.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, p. 579 ; Thurloe, iii. 710, 715, 744 ; Ludlow, i. 415 ; *Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. 335.

⁵ On the first proposal, see *Cal. State Papers Dom. (Ireland)*, p. 817, and Thurloe, iii. 697, 699. On the second, Thurloe, iv. 607 ; v. 423, 477, 493, 504, 586 ; vi. 142.

⁶ Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 340.

mitigation, over forty thousand persons had to be removed from their old habitations and resettled in the districts appointed for them. The removal was practically completed before Henry Cromwell's coming; the allotment of the lands in Connaught and Clare to the transplanted proprietors was effected by August, 1657.¹

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Meanwhile the survey of the forfeited lands, entrusted to Dr. William Petty, had been brought to a successful conclusion in March, 1656, and effected with such skill that it remained for the next two centuries the basis on which half Ireland was held.² The systematic partition of the forfeited lands amongst their new owners was now feasible. The turn of the soldiers came first; in three great disbandings or assignments, which took place in September, 1655, and in July and November, 1656, the distribution was carried out. The county in which the arrears of each particular regiment were to be satisfied was determined by lot. A particular barony was allotted to a troop or company; and the officers and privates subdivided the land amongst themselves according to its value and the amount of pay due to each person.³ The assignment of the lands due to the adventurers was a more lengthy business, and much complicated by their own mismanagement. 'They are in a condition more confused than their first chaos,' wrote Henry Cromwell in May, 1658, 'what they have done as to distribution being better if it were all undone

¹ Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 313, 316, 320; Prendergast, pp. 146-64; Bonn, *Die Englische Kolonisation in Irland*, 1906, ii. 65-72.

² 'It stands to this day,' wrote Sir Thomas Larcom in 1851, 'with the accompanying books of the distribution, the legal record on which half the land of Ireland is held; and for the purpose to which it was and is applied it remains sufficient.' *History of the Down Survey*, p. 347. See also Fitzmaurice's *Life of Sir William Petty*, 1895, pp. 38-65.

³ Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 187-238; Bonn, *Englische Kolonisation in Irland*, ii. 76, 83.

CHAP. again.'¹ Petty was called in to straighten out the
 XIV tangle, which he succeeded in doing by the end of
 1655-8 the year. He calculated that about two-thirds of the
 cultivable land of Ireland changed its masters in the
 settlement effected.²

When the soldiers and adventurers had obtained their lands they had many difficulties to contend against. Some officers spoke with enthusiasm of the prospect before them. 'Now,' said Adjutant-General Allen, 'we come to possess houses we have not built, and vineyards we have not planted.'³ In reality the war had caused such desolation that the colonists found little but bare acres. 'Scarce a house left undemolished out of walled towns, nor any timber left undestroyed,' wrote Fleetwood in June, 1654. Wood was so much needed for building that he proposed that the Dutch should be allowed to import it from other countries, in spite of the Navigation Act.⁴ Some districts were infested with wolves, which had enormously increased during the troubles. Wicklow, Galway, and County Down were full of them; rewards of £6 per head for a female wolf and £5 for a male were offered by the government; and in one instance state lands in Meath were leased to an officer on condition of his maintaining a pack of wolfhounds and bringing in so many heads per annum.⁵ Other districts were infested by the Tories—little bands of Irish soldiers who had refused to submit or emigrate, or had been dispossessed of their holdings—who murdered any of the new colonists

¹ Prendergast, pp. 239-344. Cf. Thurloe, vi. 759; vii. 114. Bonn, ii. 88-92.

² Petty, 'Political Anatomy of Ireland,' *Works*, ed. Hull, i. 135.

³ Thurloe, ii. 215; iii. 715.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. 404. On the destruction of timber, see the article on 'The Woods of Ireland' in C. Litton Falkiner's *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, mainly of the Seventeenth Century*, 1904, p. 149.

⁵ Prendergast, pp. 309-11. *Cal. State Papers Dom. (Ireland)*, 1647-60, pp. 641, 667; cf. Macaulay, *History of England*, ed. 1858, iv. 141 (chapter xii).

they could surprise, and stole their cattle. The government set a price upon the head of a Tory, varying from forty shillings to twenty pounds according to his demerits, and employed other Irishmen to hunt them out of their fastnesses. In particularly dangerous neighbourhoods little detachments of twenty or thirty soldiers were stationed in fortified posts to protect the planters.¹ Many Tories were hunted down and hanged; in remote or mountainous districts they continued to give trouble, but by the close of the Protectorate they were ceasing to be a real danger to the new colonists, though exaggerated rumours of their exploits deterred Englishmen from settling in Ireland.²

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The towns had to be repopulated as well as the country. In 1654 and 1655 the Catholic inhabitants of Dublin, Kilkenny, Wexford, Clonmel, Waterford, Galway, and other important towns had been expelled.³ It was difficult to fill their places. 'The principal seaport towns of this country,' wrote Nathaniel Brewster to Thurloe on October 22, 1656, 'are sadly decayed and unpeopled, being likely to continue so until better encouragement be offered to planters, especially to merchants; the want of which renders many beautiful strong towns to be but sad spectacles, and exceedingly hinders the public treasury.' Henry Cromwell was particularly anxious to plant Galway, which he found 'full of well-built and fair houses, but very much going to decay for want of inhabitants.'⁴ 'Poor Galway,' wrote

¹ Prendergast, pp. 325-57; Thurloe, vi. 400; *MSS. of the Earl of Egmont*, i. 526, 530, 536. See also Bonn, ii. 19.

² There was some recrudescence of Toryism in 1659. Prendergast, p. 345. In addition to the authorities cited by Prendergast, see *Mercurius Politicus*, January 22-29 and March 12-19, 1657. The correspondence of Henry Cromwell in the *Lansdowne MSS.* contains letters from several officers on the subject: William Leigh, April 14, 1656; James Redman, June 2, 1657; Captain Molyneux, July 9, 1657; Bryan Smith, June 9, 1658.

³ Gardiner, iii. 335; Prendergast, pp. 272-306.

⁴ Thurloe, v. 494, 508.

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1655-8 a minister to him in 1657, 'sitteth in the dust and no eye pitieth her; her merchants were princes and great among the nations, but now the city which was full of people is solitary and very desolate. Pity, I beseech you, these ruins.'¹ The minister proposed to fill the void by encouraging Dutch and German merchants to settle there; but ere this the Irish Council had suggested that Galway should be disposed of to the corporation of Gloucester, in satisfaction for the £10,000 voted that city for its losses in the siege of 1643. A certain portion of the houses and lands in the town were finally allotted to inhabitants of Gloucester, and to those of Liverpool; but the scheme appears to have led to little result.² In Munster, where the Catholic inhabitants of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale had been expelled and settled in the baronies of Muskerry and Barrymore, those three towns were much decayed.³ Waterford, however, had suffered much more both in wealth and population, and it was long before it recovered from the damages of war and the expulsion of the Catholic merchants. At the Restoration it was 'poor and decayed.'⁴

In town as in country the great want was population. The attempt to settle the disbanded soldiers on the soil was only partly successful. One difficulty was that the rank and file rarely possessed the capital necessary to stock their holdings. Many soldiers

¹ Reuben Easthorpe to Henry Cromwell and Sir Hardress Waller, July 17, 1657. *Lansdowne MSS.*

² Thurloe, vi. 209; Burton, *Diary*, ii. 107-11; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 530, 553; Prendergast, pp. 305, 306.

³ The *Council Book of Kinsale*, edited by Dr. R. Caulfield in 1879, shows signs of increasing prosperity after 1657. That of Cork for the period in question has not survived, and that of Youghal begins only in 1659. There is a view of Kinsale in 1669 in the *Travels of Cosmo III*, p. 100. See also Prendergast, p. 283.

⁴ Prendergast, pp. 295-302.

preferred to sell the debentures received for their pay to their officers or to dealers. Some of them took service again in Jamaica or Flanders; others remained in Ireland as servants or tenants. In fine, the number of small freeholders permanently established on the land was much less than the policy of planting Ireland with English colonists demanded.¹

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On the other hand, both officers and adventurers needed tenants to farm the large estates they had acquired. As Fleetwood pointed out, Irish tenants were easier to get and of more present profit than English, and, in order to get their lands tilled, officers frequently obtained dispensations from the obligation of planting with Englishmen, and sometimes took the old proprietors as their tenants.² A case is mentioned in which one ex-rebel took six or seven great town-lands lying close together, but belonging to different landlords, whereby he had many different patrons to save him from being obliged to transplant.³ Irish labourers were still more necessary, both as servants, herdsmen, and tillers of the soil, and a large native population remained upon the soil after the transplantation of the old landowners. As the vigilance of the government relaxed, some of the latter returned to levy contributions on their quondam tenants. 'One grievance which this county labours under,' wrote a gentleman from Cork in 1658, 'is by the frequent returns of the great Dons of the transplantable persons, who commonly once a quarter flock hither, attended by a crew of rogues, with monthly passes, and receive their contributions from former followers who at present inhabit on what was their

¹ Prendergast, pp. 222, 234, 259; Bonn, ii. 88, 97.

² Thurloe, iii. 612; Prendergast, p. 266. For advice to a landlord, see *Report on the MSS. of the Earl of Egmont*, i. 562, 575.

³ Thurloe, iv. 445; Gardiner, iii. 322, 339.

CHAP. estate.'¹ In this way they continue 'their ancient lordly
 XIV power, the breaking of which was, I suppose, one great
 1655-8 end of the transplantation.'²

Surrounded by this large Irish population, the smaller freeholders and tenant farmers were destined in course of time to be assimilated and absorbed. The process was already beginning, since the soldiers, in spite of the repeated orders which the government issued against marriage with Papists, habitually took Irish wives. In a generation or two the children sprung from these unions had frequently forgotten the English language and adopted the Catholic faith. 'Many there are of the children of Oliver's soldiers in Ireland who cannot speak one word of English,' wrote a pamphleteer in 1697.³ The government was well aware of the danger. Ireton had ordered, in 1651, that any officer who married an Irish Papist should be cashiered; and from time to time officials lost their posts for disobedience. But it was impossible to control the soldiers after they had left the service and settled on the land.⁴

The attempts which were made to encourage emigration to Ireland almost entirely failed. The Act for the

¹ *Report on the MSS. of the Earl of Egmont*, i. 600.

² The Act for the Attainder of the Rebels in Ireland, passed June 29, 1657, after repeating the penalties against transplantable persons not removing to Connaught, goes on to say: 'Whereas the children, grandchildren, brothers, nephews, uncles and next pretended heirs' of the persons transplanted remain in the provinces of Leinster, Ulster and Munster, 'having little or no visible estates or subsistence, but living idly and coshering upon the common sort of people, who were late tenants to or followers of the respective ancestors of such idle and coshering persons, waiting an opportunity as may justly be supposed, to massacre and destroy the English who are set down to plant upon the several lands . . . of the said persons so attainted . . . ' If these persons did not remove in six months they were to be committed to prison, and on conviction 'sent into America or some other parts beyond the seas.'

³ Quoted by Prendergast, p. 226, from the *True Way to render Ireland happy and secure*, Dublin, 1697.

⁴ Prendergast, pp. 142, 233, 260; cf. Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 117.

Satisfaction of Adventurers and Soldiers authorised 'all persons of what nation soever professing the Protestant religion' to rent or purchase forfeited lands, but the Dutch, German, and Bohemian emigrants whom this clause contemplated never came.¹ By invitations from Cromwell, or from the Irish government, a few families were induced to transport themselves from New England, but numerically this accession amounted to little.² Moreover, though a certain number of Englishmen were induced to take farms under the adventurers or other Protestant landholders in Ireland, it is clear that they were few.³

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There was the same difficulty in procuring English artisans and tradesmen to settle in the vacant towns. The Irish inhabitants driven outside the walls often established themselves in the immediate neighbourhood and tended to form a dependent village or suburb.⁴ Within the walls of these towns the Catholic element continually increased, in spite of perpetual prohibitions, and although its members were debarred from exercising trades, and confined to the position of servants and labourers. It was estimated in 1659 that there were 2321 Irish in Dublin to 6459 English, though the city is said to have been almost completely cleared of Papists in 1651.⁵ In cities more remote from the seat of government the proportion of Irish was still larger. In 1659 there were in Cork 3219 Irish to 1607

¹ September 26, 1653. Scobell, ii. 247; cf. Prendergast, p. 248; Bonn, ii. 94.

² Cf. Nickolls, *Letters and Papers of State addressed to O. Cromwell*, p. 44; Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 230.

³ June 23, 1654. Scobell, ii. 315.

⁴ See Prendergast, p. 285, and the description of Kinsale in *The Travels of Cosmo III*, p. 101.

⁵ No doubt many of these Irish in Dublin were ostensibly converts to Protestantism. See Col. Hewson's letter of June 19, 1651, quoted by Prendergast, p. 281. He says there was then but one avowed Papist in Dublin, and about 750 who had forsaken the Mass and attended the public ordinances.

CHAP. English, in Limerick 1286 to 819, in Waterford 1010
 XIV to 637.¹
 1655-8

To sum up, neither in the towns nor in the country did the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland establish a numerically large class of English Protestant colonists. What it really achieved was the foundation of a new aristocracy—a class of Protestant landlords, representatives of the officers and the adventurers, owning large estates tilled almost entirely by Catholic tenants. Contemporaries who were at some little distance from the theatre of events were struck by the apparent ease with which this great redistribution of property was accomplished, and the rapidity with which the new lords of the soil took root and flourished. ‘It cannot be imagined,’ wrote Clarendon, ‘in how easy a method, and with what peaceable formality, this whole great kingdom was taken from the just lords and proprietors, and divided and given amongst those who had no other right to it but that they had power to keep it. . . . And which is more wonderful, all this was done and settled, within little more than two years, to that degree of perfection, that there were many buildings raised for beauty as well as use, orderly and regular plantations of trees, and fences and enclosures raised throughout the kingdom, purchases made by one from the other at very valuable rates, and jointures made upon marriages, and all other conveyances and settlements executed, as in a kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles.’² Seen close at hand the process was less easy and its success less immediate. Though it could not be denied that material prosperity was beginning to return to Ireland,

¹ Bonn, ii. 65, quoting Hardinge’s paper on the census of 1659. No doubt these figures represent merely the male inhabitants.

² Clarendon, *Continuation of Life*, sec. 116, ed. 1857. The process took five rather than two years.

that prosperity was precarious; and the legislation which followed the return of Charles II abruptly checked its development. CHAP.
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Yet in the end it was the action of the Cromwellian government itself which caused the failure of the Cromwellian policy. The fact that the land settlement was based on confiscation might not have prevented its success; the fact that confiscation was accompanied by religious persecution did. The mass of the people might have accepted the substitution of one set of landlords for another; but the prohibition of their religion kept alive the spirit of discontent and revolt. The government of Charles II maintained the land settlement, in a slightly mitigated form, but continued the policy of persecution; and the result was seen in a new rebellion which necessitated the reconquest of Ireland.

Though religion had been one of the chief causes of the rebellion of 1641, it cannot be asserted that political necessity justified the intolerance of the Cromwellian government of Ireland. The Irish were so thoroughly subjugated that there was no danger of a new rebellion. In 1655 the war with Spain led Henry Cromwell and his Council to fear that the Spaniards might make some attempt on Ireland. As a precaution a certain number of heads of clans and leaders were arrested, whilst by means of spies a careful watch was kept on the movements of the Irish and their communications with Flanders and Spain.¹ Henry Jones, scout-master-general, who had charge of what may be termed the intelligence department, reported that 'if there were occasion, the old soldiers and many of the gentry would be glad to engage; but the mere husbandmen, being now in very good condition, will hardly be drawn

¹ Thurloe, iv. 307; v. 348, 443, 477. Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter ccxiii. In 1656 Henry Cromwell thought it necessary to arrest about 200 of the heads and leaders of the Irish. Thurloe, iv. 606; v. 423.

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into action.’¹ Amongst the Irish gentry, too, there was no great affection for the cause of the Stuarts, and some aversion to the political dictation of the clergy. It was said by some ‘that the clergy ever was and should be the destruction of this poor nation, and that they themselves had no more relation to the King of Scots than to my Lord Protector.’ Hence the plans Charles II may have cherished for promoting his designs on England by a Royalist movement in Ireland led to no result.²

On the other hand, the intolerance of the Cromwellian government caused perpetual unrest in Ireland. It aimed at extirpating Catholicism by the expulsion of all Catholic priests from the country, which it was hoped would be followed by the conversion of their flocks. On January 6, 1653, a proclamation had been issued, declaring that all priests not leaving the country within twenty days would be liable to the penalties of high treason, as set forth in the 27th of Elizabeth. Some obtained passes and transported themselves with the soldiers who entered Spanish service. Others were hunted down and sent to the West Indian plantations. The ordinary reward for catching a priest was five pounds. In July, 1656, there were twenty-six priests and schoolmasters waiting in the gaol at Carrickfergus for a ship to carry them to Barbadoes. Finally the isles of Arran and Innisboffin were utilised as their prison, and they were allowed sixpence a day for their maintenance.³ Yet, in spite of the vigilance of the government, many priests found their way into the country to replace those who were captured. An officer, writing from Coleraine in 1658, complains of ‘priests come over from Spain who say mass upon the mountains,

¹ Thurloe, iv. 446.

² Ib. vii. 219.

³ Prendergast, pp. 311-25; Thurloe, v. 250.

and yet are so covertly harboured by the Irish that they cannot be had.' ¹ A spy reported in January, 1656, 'a more than ordinary confluence of priests in all parts, who fill the minds of the discontented Irish with expectations of a change.' A weekly fast, too, was observed amongst the Irish, with 'more than ordinary abstinence,' which was supposed to presage an intended rebellion. 'The end of that fast is that the nation may be delivered, as they say, from the tyranny and misery under which they now are.' ²

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1656-8

The situation was much aggravated by the Act against Popish recusants passed by Cromwell's second Parliament. The oath which it obliged all Catholics to take, under penalty of losing two-thirds of their estates, ³ demanded, not merely the abjuration of the Pope's jurisdiction and his deposing power, but the denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and an assertion 'that the church of Rome is not the true church.' The Act expressly extended to Ireland; and the prospect of its enforcement caused the greatest apprehension amongst the Irish. In some places they gave over ploughing, sold their cattle, and bought horses, so as to be prepared either for flight or resistance. Henry Cromwell's agent reported that all the Irish labourers he was employing at Portumna, to repair the castle and build a bridge, had run away, and that the works were at a standstill. 'Since the oath of abjuration is come amongst them, they had rather do any man's work than build places of strength that may subdue and keep them in obedience.' Another correspondent wrote that the general grievance of the Irish was not the Transplantation, but the new Act,

¹ Major Bryan Smith to Henry Cromwell, June 9, 1658. *Lansdowne MSS.*

² Thurloe, iv. 447, 483.

³ Scobell, *Acts*, ii. 443. See Vol. i, pp. 74-9.

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XIV
1657

'for now they account the sending into Connaught and losing their estates nothing in comparison of this oath'; and that they openly declared they would lose all they had before taking it.¹ The government was obliged to yield. Henry Cromwell disapproved of the oath, thinking it went far beyond what was necessary; and he seems to have quietly dropped any attempt to enforce it. 'I wish,' he wrote, 'the oath for the present had provided (though in the severest manner) for their renouncing all foreign jurisdiction; and as for other doctrinal matters, that some means had been first used to have informed their judgments with such ordinary smaller penalties as former experience hath found effectual.'² The conversion of the Irish was a result which all zealous Puritans hoped in time to attain. The profession of Protestantism, if its genuineness was attested by attendance for six months at some form of Protestant worship, was regarded as a proof of conversion, and secured relief from some of the penalties of recusancy. Every landholder who wished to retain Irish tenants and servants was obliged to engage that they should become Protestants. They were to attend some Protestant church or meeting-house once a week or a fortnight or a month, according to its distance from their abode; and their children were to learn the Catechism in the English language. But these provisions were for the most part absolutely fruitless, though occasional conversions were reported.³

The Irish clung to their creed as the last relic of their national independence; moreover, the paucity

¹ Thurloe, vi. 527, 539, 657. Daniel Thomas to Henry Cromwell, October 11, 1657; Henry Greneway to Henry Cromwell, November 12, 1657. *Lansdowne MSS.*

² Thurloe, vi. 527.

³ Prendergast, pp. 131, 233, 271; Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, ii. 323, 329. See Gookin's *Great Case of Transplantation discussed*, pp. 3-6, 29.

of Protestant ministers, and the conflicts between the various Protestant sects, were serious obstacles to the propagation of Protestantism. In 1655 Ireland, from the religious point of view, was a complete chaos. Many waves had gone over the Protestant Episcopal Church. Between Catholic rebels and Puritan conquerors it had been swept out of existence as an ecclesiastical organisation. The lands of bishops and chapters had been confiscated by the government; tithes had been sequestrated and were now paid into the treasury. More than half the sees were vacant through the death of their occupants. Ussher was an exile in London, supported by a pension from the government and the salary of his preacher-ship at Lincoln's Inn.¹ Bramhall was a wanderer on the continent. Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher, more compliant than his brethren, was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin, and in high favour with the new government. Three other bishops, John Leslie of Raphoe, Henry Leslie of Down and Connor, and Robert Maxwell of Kilmore, were living in Ireland as government pensioners, and debarred from the exercise of any ecclesiastical functions.² For the Instrument of Government coupled 'Prelacy' with 'Popery' as a thing not to be tolerated; and in Ireland, as in England, the use of the liturgy was prohibited. The lower clergy had shared the fate of their superiors, excepting in the North, where a certain number took the Covenant, adopted Presbyterianism, and contrived to hold on to their livings under the protection of the Scots.³

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1655

¹ Ussher died March 21, 1656 (Gardiner, iii. 191). See also Parr's *Life of Ussher*, pp. 64, 74, 86.

² Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 296; Killen, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, ii. 102; Hill, *Montgomery MSS.*, p. 212. Several of Henry Jones's letters are printed in the *Thurloe Papers*.

³ Patrick Adair's *True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, pp. 95, 97, 100, 112, 120.

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XIV

1652-4

Ulster Presbyterianism was one of the difficulties of the Cromwellian government in Ireland. In England, during the period from 1653 to 1658, the Protector was attempting to create a national church out of Presbyterians, Independents, and other Puritan sects. The Irish government took the same task in hand, but it was far more difficult than it was in England. The Presbyterians, who formed the majority of English Puritans, were originally hostile to the Protectorate, but they had not borne arms against either republic or Protector, though some of their political leaders had been driven into exile for plotting and one of their leading ministers had suffered on the scaffold. But in Ireland the Presbyterians, not content with denouncing the execution of Charles I, had waged active war against the English government in alliance with the Royalists. Scots by descent, and drawing their ministers mostly from Scotland, they had adopted the extravagant spiritual claims put forward by the Scottish clergy as well as their political views.

When the forces of the republic reconquered Ulster many Presbyterian ministers were forced to leave the country, since, like their brethren in Scotland, they insisted on praying for Charles II. By 1652 only six or seven were left in Ulster. The government seriously contemplated transplanting the leading Presbyterians in the counties of Down and Antrim to Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Waterford. It issued a proclamation for that purpose on May 23, 1653, accompanied by a list of 260 persons to be so transplanted.¹ When Cromwell became Protector this scheme was dropped, and he

¹ Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 272, 492, ed. 1837; Bonn, *Englische Kolonisation in Irland*, ii. 44; Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, ii. 341.

also abandoned the attempt to force the 'Engagement' on ministers in either England or Ireland.¹ Consequently the exiled ministers returned from Scotland, and many young preachers followed them; by the close of the Protectorate there appear to have been almost eighty in the country.² This increase, and the renewal of the migration from Scotland, excited at first the fears of the English government. 'Our Scots in the north are a pack of knaves, but we shall have an eye on them,' wrote Henry Cromwell in November, 1655.³ In 1656 Scots desiring to come and dwell in Ireland were prohibited by proclamation from settling in the province of Ulster and the county of Louth; and the scheme for transplanting those already settled in Ulster and Louth who had been in arms against the Parliament was revived once more. This time the removal was to be restricted to the landless class, and to those who had settled in the districts named since June 24, 1650. It was further ordered that all vacant livings in Ulster should henceforth be filled by English ministers.⁴

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1655-8

These orders came to nothing. The Scots showed themselves peaceable citizens, though there are occasional complaints of seditious sermons, and though the Ulster ministers in general showed their independence by refusing to observe the day of public thanksgiving appointed by Parliament for the Protector's deliverance from Sindercombe's plot, and other public celebrations. Colonel Cooper, who took up the command of the North

¹ There is no reference to the scheme in the 'Instructions to Lord Deputy Fleetwood,' dated August 17, 1654. They are printed at length in Bruce's *Report on the Union with Scotland*, appendix, p. 221.

² Adair's *True Narrative*, p. 214.

³ Thurloe, iv. 198.

⁴ 'Additional Instructions to the Lord Deputy and Council,' February 14, 1656; 'Instructions to the same,' November 10, 1657. *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, pp. 824, 849; cf. p. 662.

CHAP. of Ireland in December, 1655, was a moderate man,
 XIV and succeeded in arriving at an agreement with the
 1655-8 leaders of the clergy which prevented any open breach.
 'The Scotch ministers,' he wrote to Henry Cromwell
 in October, 1657, 'do promise very fair, and according
 to my observation and experience may with more
 ease be led than driven; the tenderness your lordship
 shows them is the likeliest way to gain them.'¹

The Anabaptists gave much more trouble. Most
 of the ministers settled in Ireland when Henry Crom-
 well arrived were sectaries of an extreme type. The
 instructions issued by the Long Parliament to the
 Irish commissioners in 1652 ordered them 'to endeavour
 the promulgation of the gospel and the power of true
 religion and holiness there.' To that end they were
 empowered 'to cause competent maintenance to be
 allowed and duly paid out of the public revenue to such
 ministers and persons of pious life and conversation,
 and well affected to the Parliament of the Common-
 wealth of England, as are fitly qualified for preaching
 the gospel.'²

The Protector went a step further, promising that
 every minister approved by the Triers who was willing
 to settle in Ireland should receive £50 for the cost of re-
 moval, and be guaranteed a salary of £100 a year.³ This
 liberality was not without result. By 1655 there were
 150 ministers distributed through the four provinces.
 They received allowances from the treasury which
 ranged from £20 to £300 per annum; and the total sum
 paid to ministers during the two years ending November
 1, 1657, amounted to £34,141 13s. 8d.⁴

¹ Reid, *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 299, 309, 311; Thurloe, vi. 143, 349, 563; Adair's *True Narrative*, p. 225.

² Instructions, August 24, 1652 (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 167). There are similar instructions to the Lord Deputy and Council.

³ Ordinance of June 23, 1654. Scobell, ii. 317.

⁴ Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 496, gives a list of

These ministers were of every sort and shade of opinion. Some were sober and learned men. One of the most eminent was Samuel Winter, who, after being chaplain to the parliamentary commissioners, was appointed provost of Trinity College.¹ Another was Edmund Worth, a Presbyterian of so mild a type that he was commended by Henry Cromwell for his 'moderation and tenderness' to those who differed from him, and was appointed Bishop of Killaloe after the Restoration.² A third was Thomas Harrison, Henry Cromwell's chaplain, a man whom he greatly trusted and employed to defend his policy and explain his position to the Protector.³ Many were extreme Independents or Anabaptists, and took part in the opposition which embittered the first years of Henry Cromwell's rule. Edward Wale of Waterford, Timothy Taylor and the church at Carrickfergus, Robert Hobbs and that of Wexford, appear to have supported Henry Cromwell from the first. But Thomas Patient, Christopher Blackwood, and many others murmured and encouraged their flocks to agitate against the government.⁴ Timid people professed to fear an Anabaptist rising, and perhaps some attempt to set up an Anabaptist commonwealth, such as took place in Germany in the year 1533. 'There is a certain generation amongst us,'

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names extracted from the Civil Establishments for 1654 and 1655. A revised and annotated edition of this list would be useful. He calculates that the list contains about six Presbyterians, possibly a dozen Episcopalian, and 130 Independents or Baptists. See Hill, *Montgomery MSS.*, p. 211, for additions to the list, and Thurloe, vi. 596.

¹ See Urwick, *Early History of Trinity College, Dublin*, pp. 57-72; Mahaffy, *An Epoch of Irish History*, p. 296; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 511; Nickolls, *Letters and Papers of State addressed to O. Cromwell*, p. 137.

² Dwyer, *Diocese of Killaloe*, pp. 317-21, 343. Thurloe, v. 353; vii. 162, 401.

³ Urwick, pp. 56, 81. Thurloe, iii. 715; iv. 90. Many letters from Worth and Harrison to Henry Cromwell are amongst the *Lansdowne MSS.*

⁴ Thurloe, i. 731; ii. 117, 213; iv. 90, 270, 286, 314. Nickolls, *Letters and Papers of State addressed to O. Cromwell*, pp. 6, 159.

CHAP. wrote an officer in December, 1655, 'of a muddy and
 XIV disturbed temper; and if they cannot get into govern-
 1655-8 ment and greatness, as the Hebrews did into Canaan
 through Jordan, they will attempt it by the way of
 Münster.'¹

The spread of Quakerism also caused alarm. The first regular meeting of Quakers in Ireland was set up at Lurgan in 1654, by an ex-soldier named William Edmundson.² Missionaries came over from England: Miles Halhead in 1654, John Tiffin, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough in 1655. The latter published 'A Discovery of the idol dumb Shepherds of Ireland and a Lamentation over their starved and strayed Flocks,' 'The Visitation of the Rebellious Nation of Ireland,' and other tracts. After some six months preaching Burrough and Howgill were arrested and shipped back to England.³ On the day that they left Dublin a female missionary, Barbara Blagdon, arrived there. She went straight to Henry Cromwell, and cautioned him 'to beware that he was not found fighting against God in opposing the truth and persecuting the innocent; but like wise Gamaliel to let them alone, for if it was of God it would stand, but if of man it would fall.' The Quakers believed that he was not personally their enemy, but stirred up against them by evil magistrates and bad priests, and reported that he was much troubled by her words and 'so melancholy, that he could not go to bowls, nor to any other pastime.'⁴ But his correspondence shows no sign of this. He held the principles of the Quakers inconsistent with civil

¹ Thurloe, iv. 315.

² *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, etc., of William Edmundson*, Dublin, 1715, p. 13.

³ *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland*, by Thomas Wight, edited by James Ruttty, 1811, pp. 80-108; *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, by Joseph Besse, 1753, ii. 457-64.

⁴ Besse, ii. 458.

government and military discipline. 'Some think they have no design,' he wrote to Thurloe, 'but I am not of that opinion. Their counterfeited simplicity renders them to me the more dangerous.'¹ During the following three years many Quakers were imprisoned, whipped, or fined, while a few officers and a certain number of soldiers were dismissed from the army for adopting their creed. Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, the governor of Limerick, fined or turned out of the town any inhabitant who harboured a Quaker.² On the other hand, Major Hodden, the governor of Kinsale, encouraged and protected them to such an extent that he was accused of holding atheistical principles.³ He interceded for them with Henry Cromwell, urging that many had been persecuted by the bishops, and many had faithfully served the Parliament. They should be encouraged to settle in Ireland. 'It hath been and is thought that in this waste land may be comfortable habitations for religious Englishmen. . . . God hath heretofore remembered his servants in their low estate, and it will be your joy, strength, and happiness to own such in the Lord.'⁴

Henry Cromwell turned a deaf ear to these appeals. His policy was to counteract the spread of Quakerism and Anabaptism by introducing as many moderate Presbyterians and sober Independents as he could persuade to come over to Ireland. At present, he wrote in 1658, not more than a third of the country was supplied with ministers.⁵ Yet recruits for the ministry were difficult to obtain. Older men of reputation, such

¹ Thurloe, iv. 508, 530.

² Col. Ingoldsby to Henry Cromwell, March 30, 1657. *Lansdowne MSS.*, 822, f. 115.

³ Thurloe, iv. 672, 698. See also Burton, *Diary*, ii. 113.

⁴ Richard Hodden to Henry Cromwell, January 4, 1655-6. *Lansdowne MSS.*, 822, f. 93.

⁵ Thurloe, vii. 129.

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1658

as Dr. Manton and Dr. Reynolds, both of whom were thought of, were too well paid to think of moving. Younger men of promise liked to know, before taking the risk of emigration, where they were to be settled, and what salary they were likely to get.¹ It was largely an economic question. The Irish Council appointed commissioners in every county to unite or reduce parishes so as to afford a competent maintenance for ministers. No parish was to be so large that any portion of it should be more than three miles from the church, and the average stipend was to be £80 or £100 per annum.² At the same time a change in the method of maintaining ministers was taken into consideration. Their maintenance, explained the Lord Deputy, 'hath hitherto been carried in a mongrel way between tithes and salary.'³ The government collected the tithes, put the proceeds into a separate treasury, and paid the stipends of the ministers. Fleetwood had thought this a good plan. Some pious men had conscientious objections to tithes, though they did not object to receiving salaries derived from them. The old method of making the tithes of a particular parish support its minister had various drawbacks. 'If it should be continued as formerly,' Fleetwood declared in 1654, 'it will be a means to keep many a wicked man in several parishes, who must, where the tithes are but small, as before keep an alehouse.' Moreover, the substitution of salaries would make ministers dependent on the State, and enable the government 'to restrain some troublesome spirits.'⁴ These arguments had prevailed, but by 1658

¹ Thurloe, vi. 20; vii. 159. Thomas Goodwyn to Henry Cromwell, April 6, 1656. *Lansdowne MSS.*

² *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, pp. 645, 648, 826; *Mercurius Politicus*, February 25-March 4, 1658, p. 366.

³ Thurloe, vii. 101; see also Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 313-17, 500.

⁴ Thurloe, ii. 445, 733; iii. 305.

the salaries paid to the ministers had come to exceed, by two or three thousand a year, the fund set apart for that purpose, while the number of ministers was still far below the needs of the country.¹ It was impossible, asserted Henry Cromwell, 'to improve the maintenance any other way than by putting them that are free to receive tithes in kind upon their tithes, and making other provision for those who conscientiously scruple that way of maintenance.'² In April, 1658, he assembled at Dublin about thirty representative ministers to consider this proposal. About three Independents opposed the return to the old system, the rest agreed to it; all concurred in the other resolutions submitted to the meeting, and in an address of thanks to the Lord Deputy as 'a nursing father to the Church.'³ Nevertheless Henry was obliged to admit that the three dissenting brethren represented a considerable body of opinion outside. 'I wish,' he wrote, 'I could tell you that the Independents are not dissatisfied. It may be some of them thought they should ride when they had thrown the Anabaptist out of the saddle; but I must neither respect persons, nor parties, nor rumours, so as to be thereby diverted from an equal distribution of respect and justice to all.' He believed that Lord Chancellor Steele secretly 'endeavoured to make the Independents think themselves neglected' in order to increase his own influence and form a party.⁴

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1658

The Lord Deputy sent Dr. Worth to England in June, 1658, to present the address of the ministers

¹ Thurloe, vii. 129.

² Ib. vii. 129.

³ Ib. vii. 21, 101, 145. Chief Justice Pepys strongly supported this scheme. See Worth's funeral sermon on Pepys, 'The Servant doing and the Lord blessing,' 1659, p. 30. The address is printed by Reid, ii. 500.

⁴ Thurloe, vii. 53, 161, 199, 243.

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to the Lord Protector, and set forth the ecclesiastical position. In his letter of introduction he explained that Worth was 'of the judgment of the associated ministers in England,' that is of those moderate Presbyterians and Independents who followed the lead of Richard Baxter in combining to form voluntary associations of ministers for ordination, discipline, and similar purposes.¹ In England, as in Ireland, these moderate men were slowly gaining the upper hand. Dr. Worth found, both at Cambridge and Oxford, a strong feeling amongst the Presbyterians in favour of the Lord Deputy's ecclesiastical policy. They showed 'a uniting spirit' and a desire 'to make brethren one,' and said 'with one accord that they could freely close with the Congregational brethren on the terms presented by the Dublin convention.'² In February, 1659, a voluntary association of the Baxterian type was established in Dublin.³

Another task the Irish government took in hand was the reorganisation of education. Schools and schoolmasters had been practically swept away during the twelve years' war. According to Archbishop King's recollections of his youth, 'all learning and convenient means for teaching the young had ceased.' Henry Cromwell was instructed to appoint commissioners to inquire what free schools had formerly existed in each county, and what endowments they had possessed, and authorised to make up their revenues to the sum of £100 a year, or to expend that sum in providing a

¹ On the associations see Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 326; iii. 231; and Shaw's *Church under the Commonwealth*, ii. 152. See also *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, p. 169.

² On Worth's mission see Thurloe, vii. 162, 410, and Worth's letters of July 20 and August 17, 1658, amongst the *Lansdowne MSS.*

³ *The Agreement and Resolution of the Ministers of Christ associated within the City of Dublin and the Province of Leinster, &c.*, Dublin, 1659.

school. In Ulster some schools appear to have been provided, and to have been well attended.¹

Trinity College had suffered severely; its lands were wasted; its rents had vanished; its plate was sold. It was reduced to a small number of poverty-stricken Fellows. There was a vacancy of over two years in the office of provost. Matriculations fell to three or four per annum, and at one time entirely ceased. After 1655 they began to increase. There were twelve in that year, six in 1656, and twenty-six in 1657.² Henry Cromwell, who appears to have been elected Chancellor in 1655, did much to promote the interests of the university.³ On March 8, 1650, the Long Parliament had passed an act vesting the lands of the Archbishop of Dublin and the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's in a number of trustees for the maintenance of Trinity College, the erection of a second college in Dublin, and the foundation of a free school. Henry Cromwell took steps to carry out this project. According to the scheme £1649 per annum was to be assigned to each of the colleges, £334 to the professors in the university, and £330 to the free school.⁴ In 1657 the library of Archbishop Ussher was purchased for £2200, contributed by the Lord Deputy and the officers of the army in Ireland, and it was lodged in Cork House, which Henry assigned to the university for the purpose of a library. The Restoration put an end to the scheme for the second college, but the books were given by Charles II to Trinity College.⁵

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1655-8

¹ *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, p. 853; *Life of Archbishop King*, by Sir C. S. King, 1906, p. 3; Reid, ii. 500.

² Mahaffy, *An Epoch in Irish History*, pp. 289-96.

³ He was installed in August, 1655 (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 49), but it is said he was made Chancellor March 16, 1653, i.e. 1653-4 (Mahaffy, p. 301).

⁴ The scheme is dated January 18, 1658-9 (Urwick, p. 64; Mahaffy, p. 310). At the time the actual income of Trinity was about £1400 (ib. p. 312). For the Act of 1650, see Scobell's *Acts*, ii. 104.

⁵ On the story of purchase of the library, see Urwick, pp. 90-4, *Mercurius*

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Yet these religious and educational schemes merely benefited the English and Protestant colonists. Hardly any of the ministers could speak Irish, although the conversion of the natives was one of the avowed motives for maintaining them.¹ The teaching of the Irish language in Trinity, which Bedell and Ussher had promoted with such ardour, had been stopped by Provost Chappell, and was not revived till Marsh became provost in 1678.² Under such conditions talk about the conversion of the Irish was not likely to come to much. As to their education, the thirty scholarships at Trinity designed for 'natives' tended to go to youths of English race born in Ireland; and the only plan proposed for educating the poorer Irish was to send a number of children to England, at the age of ten, in order that they might be bound apprentices to religious and honest people and learn trades. The cost of this experiment was to be borne by a voluntary subscription for the purpose raised in Ireland.³

Both the educational and the ecclesiastical schemes of the government were hampered by the want of money. The natural source from which such expenses should have been defrayed was the confiscated lands at the disposal of the government, but the revenue derived from them steadily diminished. 'Ireland,' says Clarendon, 'was the great capital out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded and all acts of bounty performed.' Just as in the eighteenth century the Irish pension list was used to satisfy English claimants of every kind, so now losses incurred during the

Politicus, March 12-19, 1657, and the letters of Anthony Morgan to Henry Cromwell in the *Lansdowne MSS.*

¹ See Reid, ii. 497, 498.

² Urwick, pp. 30, 33, 47; Stubbs, *History of the University of Dublin*, pp. 58, 62, 114.

³ *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, p. 853.

English civil wars and sufferings for the parliamentary cause were too frequently requited with Irish lands. It might be fair to make such grants to officers like Lord Broghil and Sir Hardress Waller, if the pay they had received for their military services in Ireland was not an adequate reward, but it was flagrantly unjust to quarter the widow and orphans of John Bastwick on that country. The deanery of Christ Church was a sufficient reward for John Owen, without the addition of lands in Ireland, nor was it necessary to pension Thomas Goodwyn, the President of Magdalen, at the expense of Ireland, in order to enable him to complete his theological writings.¹ This extravagance was the fault of the English government and the English parliament, neither of which properly appreciated the financial position of Ireland. Lord Deputy Fleetwood, however, was so sensible of it that he refused the grant of £1500 a year voted him by Parliament in 1657; and his successor strongly remonstrated against this system of depleting the Irish exchequer. 'We have been much startled of late,' wrote Henry Cromwell on December 16, 1657, 'with the number of grants for land which have lately been sent us over by his Highness or the Parliament; they are, many of them, very exorbitant satisfactions for old debts. I believe in some cases above twenty times more than ever was expected. This course will so peel the revenue, that we must have greater supplies from England than will be cheerfully afforded us.'²

The ill effects of these too liberal grants were increased by the insufficiency of the other branches

¹ See for example Thurloe, vi. 539; vii. 504. *Commons' Journals*, vii. 550, 553, 573, 577. Burton, *Diary*, i. 203; ii. 63, 95, 97, 107, 123, 159, 197, 224, 238.

² Thurloe, vi. 683. A letter of the Council dated January 28, 1657, shows that the total revenue of £32,160 from state lands had been diminished by £4160 in one year (ib. p. 763). See also vi. 820.

CHAP. of the local revenue for local needs. Trade, it is true,
 XIV was reviving under the more liberal commercial *régime*
 1655-8 of the moment, but it revived slowly. The union had opened the colonies to Irish merchants, and a trade with the West Indies in beef, butter, and tallow was now springing up, which the Navigation Acts of Charles II subsequently destroyed.¹ But even during the Commonwealth and Protectorate absolute free trade between England and Ireland did not exist. In 1653 both the Council of State and the committee for Ireland recommended that customs duties levied in Ireland on goods imported from England should henceforth cease; but these recommendations were not carried out. Intending settlers were permitted to transport into Ireland, from the territories of the Commonwealth, horses, cattle, household stuff, tools, building materials, and other requisites for planting, free from any customs or excise for the space of the next seven years. On all other commodities imported from England duties had to be paid, and in 1655 the Dublin merchants petitioned for their removal, but without result. The farmers of the Irish customs in 1658 alleged that goods imported from England into Ireland, and *vice versa*, had always paid full customs 'in like manner as to any foreign part of the world,' and exacted from the importers of woollen stuffs and hops into Ireland the duties which, by the Act of Cromwell's second Parliament, were imposed on foreign imported goods. The importers, headed by Hatfield, a Dublin alderman, sued the farmers, alleging that by the intention of that Act the duties should not have been levied, 'in regard, as they pretend, England and Ireland are one Commonwealth.' The law officers of the English government, to whom the matter was referred, held that the view of the farmers

¹ *Essex Papers*, ed. O. Airy, pp. 36, 54.

of the customs was correct.¹ English settlers in Ireland were thus placed in a less favourable position commercially than the Scots. 'You go about to make them foreigners,' said Arthur Annesley in Richard Cromwell's Parliament. 'Scotland pays no customs. Ireland pays not only customs but increase of customs; 2s. a beast in Lord Strafford's time, and now 6s. 8d. is exacted.'²

Another great obstacle to the revival of trade was the badness of the Irish coinage. Many clipped English coins were in circulation, but most of the money in use consisted of what were called 'Peru pieces'—Spanish coins, worth nominally 4s. 6d.; in reality rather less than two-thirds of that amount. There was also a good deal of base and counterfeit coin, both English and foreign. The Irish government pressed hard for the erection of a mint in that country. The Council of State in England agreed to the proposal, and decided to send Peter Blondeau to Ireland for the purpose; Blondeau was paid a hundred pounds for preparing 'engines for his Highness' mint in Ireland,' but he never went there, nor was the mint established. On April 16, 1656, the Council once more complained to the Protector. 'Like a gangrene this adulterate coin spreads far and near. It banishes hence the current coin of Spain, and eats up the good English money, which the merchants, for want of exchange or other commodities to return, make it a secret trade to export into England, or into some foreign parts, to any place where it yields most advantage; hereby the stock of this nation is detrimented much above two thirds as is conceived. Little other money is visible save this counterfeit American, which ordinarily goes for four shillings and sixpence,

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1655-8

¹ *Commons' Journals*, vii. 290, 313. *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, pp. 572, 678, 699. *Thurloe*, vi. 862; vii. 283. *Scobell, Acts and Ordinances*, ii. 248, 315.

² *Burton, Diary*, iv. 242.

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1654-7 and upon the assay is found not to outvalue two shillings and fourpence; and most of that which runs current is very little better than brass or alchemy. Trade hereby is exceedingly obstructed, plantations much discouraged, necessary provisions withheld, and monthly contribution paid in such base coin as become great loss to the receiver.'¹ Moreover, on pretext that the coin offered was bad, the soldiers employed to levy contributions used the opportunity to extort bribes for themselves. In spite of these urgent appeals no mint was established. All the Irish Council could do was to issue on December 9, 1657, a proclamation calling down some of the foreign money.²

The question of the coinage was, after all, but a minor branch of the great financial problem which Henry Cromwell and his advisers had perpetually to face. In Ireland, as in Scotland, an army of occupation had to be maintained which was much larger than the revenue of the country would pay for, and the balance had to be met by subsidies from England. The Council had the double task of reducing the local expenditure and increasing the local income.

The difference between revenue and expenditure was enormous. In 1653 the expenditure in Ireland amounted to £630,814, of which the army cost £523,842; while the revenue raised there only amounted to £197,000. No less than £433,000 had to be contributed by England.³ The situation was little better a year later. On September 19, 1654, Fleetwood and the Irish Council informed the Protector that the army, according to the

¹ Sir James Simon, *Essay on Irish Coins*, Dublin, 1749. Henfrey, *Numismata Cromwelliana*, pp. 22-4, 83, 87-9. Thurloe, ii. 94; iv. 711; vi. 96.

² Thurloe, vi. 649.

³ Hardinge on 'Surveys in Ireland,' p. 7, in *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy* (Polite Literature), p. xxiv. See Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 324.

establishment fixed by the late Parliament, cost £47,000 per month; that Ireland could not produce more than £10,000 a month; and that the continuance of the present subsidy of £32,000 a month from England was imperatively necessary.¹ This was more than England could continue to supply. On July 31, 1655, the Irish Council was informed that henceforth £17,000 per month was all that could be allowed from England, and that expenses must be reduced accordingly.² This decision expedited the movements of the Irish Council, and a partial disbandment followed, which reduced the cost of the army to about £28,000 per month.³

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1654-7

In Ireland, as in Scotland, the main source of revenue was the monthly assessment. By the ordinance of June 23, 1654, that was fixed at the sum of £10,000 a month for the next two years, and in June, 1656, it was to be increased to £12,000 per month.⁴ When that date came the projected increase proved impossible, and Parliament voted that the existing rate should be maintained. Even this, the Irish members protested, was much too high. It was asserted that in some cases the tax came to 10s. or 15s. in the pound. Fleetwood as Lord Deputy presented a petition urging that the assessment should in future be reduced to £7000 per month. The House was very loth to make any reduction, for it had an exaggerated idea of the wealth of Ireland; but it was obviously impolitic to check the prosperity of a new colony by over-taxing it at the beginning, and, since the assessment was being reduced both in England and

June
12,
1657

¹ *Dunlop Transcripts*; cf. Thurloe, ii. 516, 631; vi. 649.

² *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, p. 817.

³ This was a reduction of £17,000 per month according to Fleetwood (Thurloe, iii. 710). The establishment of September 2, 1655, seems to come to £28,293 per month. *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, p. 579.

⁴ Scobell, ii. 314, 491, 496.

CHAP. Scotland, equity required some diminution of the
 XIV burdens of Ireland. Accordingly the assessment was
 1657-8 reduced to £9000 per month, from June, 1657, and remained at that figure till the Restoration.¹

The rest of the Irish revenue was derived from two main sources. The rents of confiscated lands, houses belonging to the State, bishops' lands and impropriate tithes, amounted during the year ending May 1, 1657, to about £35,000. Indirect taxation produced about the same total. The inland excise, after making allowance for bad debts and other contingencies, yielded £15,000; the customs and excise on goods imported came to something over £20,000 a year.²

There is no equally detailed statement of the expenditure during the year ending May 1, 1657, but it may be estimated at a little over £408,000, that is about £72,000 for the civil government and £336,000 for the army.³ In the autumn of 1657, when Henry Cromwell became Lord Deputy, he was told that the English contribution would henceforth be £8000 instead of £17,000 per month. He pointed out that, since the total revenue of Ireland was but £178,000 per annum, this would result in a deficit.⁴ The government, however, was obdurate and the English

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 208-12, 224, 245-7; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 557.

² See Thurloe, vi. 340. The items are as follows: Annual revenue arising out of lands undisposed of, £15,493; bishops' lands, £4021; houses in cities and walled towns, £7401; impropriate tithes, £6000; casual revenue, £647; land excise, £18,039 (with deductions, £15,000); customs and water excise, £20,674. The revenue from lands continually decreased. See Thurloe, v. 731.

Henry Cromwell says on September 23, 1657: 'The revenue cannot be extended to more than £70,000' (Thurloe, vi. 527). As a matter of fact £68,965 was the precise figure, for the year ending March 25, 1658 (*ib.* vii. 389), and £137,558 was received in the two years ending November 1, 1657 (*ib.* vi. 596).

³ The expenditure, other than the payment of the army, for the two years ending November 1, 1657, came to £144,509 (Thurloe, vi. 596). The calculation given above estimates the military charges at £28,000 per month.

⁴ Thurloe, vi. 516, 527, 538. Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, September 23, 1657.

contribution remained fixed at £8000 per month for the rest of the period. All, therefore, that Henry Cromwell could count upon receiving for 1658 was £274,000.¹ From England two expedients for supplying the deficit were suggested. One was to increase the yield of the indirect taxes by farming them, as the government of Scotland had done. This was effected in 1658, and by contract with one Thomas Morris and his partners the customs and excise of Ireland were farmed out for £70,000 per annum.² The other plan was to exact the quit-rents payable on the forfeited lands allotted to the adventurers and soldiers.³ These quit-rents had been remitted until June, 1659, 'and until the assessment of Ireland be brought into an even proportion with the assessments of England.'⁴ The Protector's Council argued that this equality had been achieved by the late reduction of the Irish assessment to £9000 per month.⁵ Henry Cromwell protested with great vehemence against the proposal. 'The anticipation of quit-rents upon the adventurers and soldiers will not (although it could be executed according to the most perfect idea) afford £2000 *per mensem*. But the soldier is not yet so formally settled, nor are the records so perfectly returned, nor the species of the acre so clearly determined, as whereby we can tell how to charge or levy

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1657-8

¹ Made up as follows: English contribution, £96,000; Irish assessment, £108,000; other Irish revenue, £70,000.

² On farming the customs, see Thurloe, vi. 404, 538. The contract was approved February 11, 1658. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 287. According to the farmers this was an advance of £44,000 on what that revenue previously produced, but the real gain appears to have been but £35,000. *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, p. 678.

³ *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1647-60, p. 858. See Thurloe, vi. 70, 341; vii. 99, 100.

⁴ Ordinance of June 23, 1654. See also Act of September 26, 1653, and *Commons' Journals*, vii. 315.

⁵ Scobell, ii. 491.

CHAP. this duty.' Even if all the necessary preliminaries
 XIV had been accomplished, the quit-rents could not be
 1658 legally demanded before June, 1659. 'We believe here that you cannot do it by law.' If it were possible it was both inequitable and impolitic. Ireland was still, in spite of the late reduction, disproportionately taxed.¹ England and Wales paid but £35,000 a month to Ireland's £9,000, yet they were far more than four times as rich. In the next place, 'the people of Ireland pay incomparably more other public charges than any other of the three nations, viz. for repairing churches, courts, gaols, bridges, highways, etc.' Lastly, 'the disorder about coins hath left this nation very bare of money; and were it not for the supplies from England in specie, which that proposal would cut off, all trade must cease here, and consequently all planting, so as we must by this cessation of industry become as brutish as the Irish themselves, and by degrees degenerate into all their manners and practices, whereby for not sparing us a little at first, you may hasten the labour and charge of reducing this nation again.'²

These arguments, or the legal argument, prevailed, and the proposal to exact the quit-rents was dropped. Nevertheless the increase in the revenue due to farming the customs and excise greatly improved the financial position. The revenue of Ireland, excluding the assessment, reached but £68,695 for the year ending March 1, 1658. For the year ending March 1, 1659, it came to £99,790, and since the quit-rents would begin in June there was a prospect of a further rise next year.³

If a considerable reduction could be made in the

¹ Thurloe, vii. 72, 114; cf. *Cal. State Papers (Ireland)*, 1657-60, p. 698.

² Thurloe, vii. 72, 114.

³ *Commons' Journals*, vii. 628. The figures given in this report are clearly for the year 1658-9.

expenditure the financial position of Ireland was by no means desperate. During the winter of 1657-8 that business occupied all the thoughts of the Irish Council. On December 30, 1657, Henry Cromwell announced that 'the civil charge' had been brought down from £48,000 to £35,000 per annum.¹

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1657

To reduce the cost of the army was more difficult. On July 8, 1657, Henry Cromwell and the Irish Council informed the Protector that the monthly charge upon the military list was £27,170, which appears to have been about £1000 a month less than the establishment.² In the autumn of 1657 a committee of the Protector's Council, after consulting another committee, representing the officers of the three armies, proposed a scheme for the reduction of the Irish forces, which was transmitted to Henry Cromwell.³ According to it the cost of the army would be reduced to £23,083 per month, which meant a saving of over £40,000 a year.⁴

This question of the reduction of the military charges illustrates the relations between Ireland and England. The Lord Deputy was at first told that he would be able to use his discretion as to the method of reducing the cost of the army and bringing it within the allowance. 'It will be in your power,' said Thurloe, 'to avoid the inconvenience of reducing the soldiers and keeping on foot all the officers.'⁵ Accordingly

Sept.
15

¹ Thurloe, vi. 683, 714. The civil charge as given in the report by Scawen is £34,898. *Commons' Journals*, vii. 630.

² *Dunlop Transcripts*.

³ On the history of the scheme, see Thurloe, vi. 661, 681.

⁴ Thurloe, vii. 538 (Thurloe's figures are for lunar months: he says £23,083 per month makes £300,086 per annum).

The Irish Council's instructions to Mr. Standish, in April, 1658, say that the established charge of the army is £28,862 per mensem, and the sum of £23,500 is lately proposed from England. In the report of April 7, 1659, the Irish army is said to cost £311,582 the year, and £23,967 17s. 4d. per month.

⁵ Thurloe, vi. 516, 527, 569, 657.

CHAP. Henry Cromwell prepared a plan, but found himself, to his wrath, ordered to put in force this English scheme instead. It was no cheaper and less efficient than his own. 'The material part in which my proposals differ from my brother Fleetwood's is,' he explained, 'that a much greater effective force will be maintained, with the same charge, by the one way than by the other; and since the Cavalier doth still show his teeth, it is advisable to keep up the best effective force you can with one and the same charge.'¹ His own plan apparently involved some reduction in the pay or number of the officers, and was therefore objected to by the military interest in Cromwell's Council. 'To deal plainly with you,' wrote Thurloe, 'I believe some of the officers are much regarded here in this reducement, and for their sake the way propounded by you is the less liked.'² The English Council insisted that its scheme should be accepted. 'They undertook,' complained Henry later to his brother, 'to reduce the army by such rules as would render me odious, and were preposterous and absurd here, though proper for an army in England; and were so far from asking my opinion, that when I obtruded it I could get no reply of reasons, but magisterial rules which I must obey.'³

Worst of all, he was not provided with money to pay off the disbanded soldiers. Though the Irish army was willing to accept some reducement, 'so bitter a pill as a universal retrenchment' could not be swallowed 'without something of sweet to carry it down.'⁴ As the pay of the soldiers was many months behind-hand they were in debt to the country; and if they were disbanded without payment of their arrears, those

¹ Thurloe, vi. 405, 505, 657, 661.

² *Ib.* vi. 647; cf. vi. 820.

³ *Ib.* vii. 401. Letter to Richard Cromwell, September 8, 1658.

⁴ *Ib.* vi. 820, 862.

who had trusted them would be ruined.¹ 'The arrear of our army,' he wrote to the Protector on December 2, 1657, 'is of eight months growth, about half of it being contracted before the disbanding in September, 1655, and the rest by paying off that great number of horse and foot then disbanded with the growing pay of the then remaining army, who got no pay till near three months after that reducement. . . . If we put off those who are now to be disbanded with the growing pay of the rest who are to stand, we shall then relapse into the same error we committed in 1655 upon the like occasion; and so growing still into a worse and worse condition, must at last fall into such a state, as I cannot promise myself able to wade through.'² About £180,000, at least, was necessary to enable him to pay off the soldiers to be disbanded; and it must be supplied immediately, because every three months' delay added one month more to the arrears.³ In March, 1658, Mr. Standish was sent over to represent the case to the English Council, but that body was at its wits' end for money, and could provide but the merest trifle.⁴ So the new Lord Deputy remained in what he described as 'this bankrupt condition, which is like that of an executor to a ruined estate.'⁵

Yet the question was one which required immediate settlement. To leave the Irish army unpaid meant that it would have to be quartered on the country. What the results of that would be the Protector had pointed out to Parliament in his speech at the opening of its last session :

¹ Thurloe, vi. 649, 820, 862.

² Ib. vi. 649, 650, 658, 660.

³ Ib. vi. 649, 819, 862.

⁴ Ib. vi. 862, 872; vii. 38, 84, 176. *Cal. State Papers (Irish)*, 1647-50 p. 856.

⁵ Thurloe, vi. 633.

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1658

‘Judge what the case of Ireland is should free quarter come upon the Irish people. You have a company of Scots in the North of Ireland, that I hope are honest men. In the Province of Galway almost all the Irish transported to the West. You have the interest of England newly begun to be planted. The people there are full of necessities and complaints. They bear to the uttermost. And should the soldiers run upon free quarters there—upon your English planters as they must—the English planters must quit the country through mere beggary; and that which hath been the success of so much blood and treasure, to get that country into your hands, what will be the consequence, but that the English must needs run away for pure beggary, and the Irish must possess the country for a receptacle to a popish and Spanish interest?’¹

Parliament was not insensible to these considerations, but without increasing the assessment in England it was impossible to increase the remittance to Ireland. And no one would hear of increasing the assessment. England was beginning to feel the inevitable burden of empire. Englishmen were getting weary of being taxed for the maintenance of their conquests, and were disposed to shift the burden on to the conquered countries whether they could bear it or not. This feeling revealed itself during the debates of June, 1657, when the question of the quota of the assessment to be levied on each of the three nations was under discussion. ‘If you will make England Issachar’s ass we shall break down at last,’ complained Mr. Bond. ‘It is not for the House,’ said another member, ‘to make England the packhorse to bear what the others will not. I have read of *filia devoravit matrem*; I wish it may

¹ Carlyle, *Cromwell*, Speech xvii. p. 178.

not be so in Ireland.' Colonel Sydenham—one of the Protector's Council—made no attempt to defend the Irish government, but answered by generally blaming English colonial policy. 'It has been our misfortune,' he declared, 'to have conquered nations lie still upon our charge; if Rome had done so by her colonies, she had not profited by her conquests.'¹

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1658

In a sense Sydenham was right. The financial difficulty was not the result of maladministration in Ireland but of the deliberate policy of the English government. A policy of confiscation and intolerance had caused an excessive military expenditure; and this was inevitably increased when the details of that military expenditure were determined by the English Council in the interests of the English army, rather than by the Irish Council in the interests of the English colony in Ireland.

What Henry Cromwell and his councillors achieved has been exaggerated. It is, for instance, an exaggeration to say that Ireland never prospered as she prospered in the years of the Protectorate.² But every kind of evidence, negative and positive, proves that the new colony was, by the close of the Protectorate, beginning to flourish. It is absurd to say that the country was now for the first time administered 'in the sole interests of honest labour.'³ It was administered in the interests of the British colony, with little or no regard to the interests of the native inhabitants.

Yet much was due to Henry Cromwell. When he came to Ireland he found it administered solely in the interest of one section of the colony, namely the last comers. The welfare of the older colonists was subordinated to theirs, and the opinions of the men born and bred in

¹ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 209, 210, 246.

² Froude, *English in Ireland*, i. 137.

³ *Ib.* i. 121.

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XIV
1658

Ireland were neglected and set aside in favour of officers who had been in the country three or four years. Henry Cromwell, however, governed Ireland in the interest of all classes of colonists and all sections of Protestants. In this respect he faithfully carried out the policy of his father.

Hence the popularity of both Oliver and Henry with the older colonists. Oliver had begun his Protectorate by issuing two ordinances in favour of the Munster Protestants, granting them indemnity for the consequences of their temporary conjunction with the Royalists in 1648 and 1649. In 1656 Vincent Gookin told the Protector that 'the ancient Protestant inhabitants of Ireland,' now 'a considerable interest,' were unanimous in their obedience to the Protector's government and their affection to his person. They had suffered much during the late war; King Charles had shown more favour to the Irish than he did to them, which 'was so highly resented by them, that it is almost in every child's mouth to this day.' Cromwell on the other hand had delivered them from their hereditary foes, which had made his 'name and memory so precious to them, that a man can not speak that against your Highness amongst them, which is ordinarily vented in England, without danger to his life or limbs.' Interest as well as gratitude bound them to him. All the land they held was, as far as most of them were concerned, either given them for service as soldiers, or else purchased or rented from the Protector or the State. They were also the chief buyers and takers of the confiscated lands. In a year or two they would have too great interests in the forfeited lands to give them up to Charles Stuart or any from him, or abet any power that should desire that.¹

¹ Thurloe, v. 647; *Lansdowne MSS.*, 822, f. 26.

In return this section of the Irish colony were staunch supporters of Henry Cromwell's rule. The Anabaptists endeavoured to persuade the Protector that Henry discountenanced 'the godly interest' and trusted only 'the carnal old Protestants.'¹ But finding intrigues ineffectual, their opposition was now sullenly subsiding. A small minority still remained hostile, dissatisfied with the substitution of the Protectorate for the republic, and with the policy of equal treatment for all Protestant sects. But by 1658 they confined themselves to murmurings in private. Nothing was audible but a chorus of expressions of satisfaction with the Lord Deputy and loyalty to the Protector. Henry had by this time learnt to understand men, and his gratification was tinged with scepticism. He attributed some part of these protestations to 'the flattering genius' which usually reigned in dependencies. 'We are but a kind of colony, the inhabitants of which places are commonly more compliant with their present governors, more flexible to changes, more dexterous in the practice of flattery than other men; for their being indigent and continual suitors for some advantage or other, pensioners to the public, such as have tried their fortunes in many places before, used to the little tyranny of country governors, and always in expectation of changes in their superiors, makes them such; begetting in them a genius, more ingenious indeed but less ingenuous than those have, who reside nearer to the seat of empire.' Yet, after making all due abatement for this characteristic, he expressed his belief that the Protector's rule was firmly rooted in Ireland.²

CHAP.
XIV
1658

¹ Reynolds to Henry Cromwell, May 27, 1656. *Lansdowne MSS.*

² Thurloe, vii. 101. Letter to Lord Fauconberg, April 28, 1658. The words used are: 'I believe his Highness's interest in Ireland to be full weight.'

CHAPTER XV

THE CONQUEST OF DUNKIRK

CHAP. THE year 1658 was the decisive year in the long struggle
XV between France and Spain. At last Mazarin reaped
1658 the fruit of his alliance with England, which turned
the scale in favour of the French and obliged the
Spaniards to sue for peace. The league between
England and France, concluded on March 23, 1657,
had only bound the allies for one year, and its renewal
was the necessary preliminary to all arrangements for
the next campaign. Nevertheless the discussion and
the signature of the treaty were long postponed.
On January 9, 1658, Lockhart wrote to Thurloe re-
minding him that the secret treaty was almost
expired and that something should be done 'to secure
the performance of the last treaty, at least as much as
it can be by new engagements.' Yet on February 16
he had received no answer and was getting anxious.
'They suspect,' he said, 'we delay bringing things to
a conclusion upon some designs, that I believe his
Highness is far enough from thinking on; nevertheless
his eminence is very patient, though more desirous
that no more time be lost.'¹ The delay was partly
due to Thurloe's illness, partly to the miscarriage of
some of his letters. When he did answer, which was on
February 25, he declared that the first overture must
come from the French; 'they must declare their intention

¹ Thurloe, vi. 713, 789.

as to what they resolve to do this spring, and by what means and in what manner they intend to endeavour the performance of the secret treaty.’¹ For the Protector was dissatisfied with the result of the last campaign, and was resolved to bind the French by rigid stipulations to carry out their agreement for the siege of Dunkirk.

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1658

Accordingly Mazarin took the matter in hand. On March 15 he told Bordeaux that for three weeks he had been confined to his bed by gout, but that to-morrow he should speak to Lockhart about the renewal of the alliance.² Next day, at Vincennes, the interview took place, and the substance of the treaty was agreed upon. The essential point was that the French king was to oblige himself to attack Dunkirk ‘and shall not decline that enterprise upon any pretences whatsoever.’³ The Cardinal appointed Brienne and Servien to put the terms into shape.

March
5
15

Lockhart was jubilant at the prospect of getting Dunkirk at last. Nevertheless at the last moment a dispute arose about the details, and Servien proved a stubborn negotiator. Lockhart very nearly came to a breach with Mazarin. Their next interview was stormy. ‘He was never,’ said Lockhart, ‘on so ill terms with me since I first had the honour to serve his Highness in France.’ Apparently the other negotiators had reported that he was overbearing. The ground of the quarrel was ‘upon some mistakes and misinformation of my being an imposer, and one that carried things so high as I would not treat upon equal terms; he did so deeply resent it as once I looked upon the bringing of the treaty to a just and equal conclusion as a thing desperate, if not impossible.’ At last, however, Lockhart

¹ Thurloe, vi. 804.

² *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 323.

³ Thurloe, vi. 840, 853.

CHAP. succeeded in mollifying the Cardinal and vindicating
 {
 XV himself. He even obtained further concessions from
 1658 Mazarin,¹ and on March 28 the treaty was signed.²
 March Its preamble was a kind of apology for the failure to
 18
 28 attack Dunkirk and Gravelines in the last campaign,
 which was attributed to the incredible diligence shown
 by the Spaniards in making both places unassailable.
 The old treaty was confirmed, including the clause pro-
 mising to make no separate peace with Spain for a year,
 and especially the clause concerning the security
 of the Catholic religion in the captured towns.³ Six
 new articles were added. One specified that before
 any other enterprise siege should be laid to Dunkirk
 by sea and land between April 20 and May 10 following.⁴
 The French army was to attack by land, the English
 fleet by sea. That fleet was also to furnish English and
 French troops with munitions of war, provisions, and
 all other necessities. If the siege did not take place,
 either through the delay of the French army or the
 English fleet, the ally suffering loss thereby was to have
 a right to claim the reimbursement of his expenses.
 After the surrender and the transfer of Dunkirk to the
 Protector, the English fleet employed in its capture
 was to be placed at the disposal of the King of
 France for the siege of Gravelines. This was to be
 undertaken not later than September in 1658 or earlier
 than March in 1659. The obligation was to bind
 England for the years 1658 and 1659. Finally for six
 weeks the English auxiliaries were to receive an addi-
 tion of a sou *per diem* to their pay.⁵

Thurloe received the treaty somewhat ungraciously.

¹ *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 394; Thurloe, vii. 2.

² Chéruel, iii. 132.

³ *Ib.* iii. 133. 'Maxime quae ad religionem Catholicam spectant, ita sancte et inviolabiliter servabuntur.'

⁴ New Style.

⁵ Chéruel, pp. 132-5.

The performance of it, he said, 'shall be punctually observed this side: I wish the same be done on the other side. We will hope well, and that they will not do as they did last summer, especially they being now under penalty if they do not besiege the place; unless they intend to turn that to their own advantage, and argue that the treaty is fulfilled if they either do the thing or submit to the penalty, and then wrangle about the charges we have been at, undervaluing them; or, it may be, put that demand upon us, and ask the charge of their army for this campaign, upon some imaginary failures.'¹

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1658

As these suspicions prove, the relations between the allies were already somewhat strained. This showed itself amongst the soldiers as well as amongst the diplomatists. There were serious quarrels between the soldiers of the two nations garrisoning Mardyke. 'The French,' wrote Lockhart, on April 21, 'complain much against the insolency of the English soldiers at Mardyke; in a late quarrel they have killed some of the King's guards, and the actors are neither punished nor apprehended, as the captains of the guard allege and have writ to Major-General Morgan upon it, and have fully held forth the evil consequences may follow upon it.'² Morgan took little trouble to redress these disorders, and Mazarin complained of his coolness. 'He thinks,' said Mazarin, 'that the matter is settled when he has said it is the result of the hatred which the English have for the French,' an explanation that was more convincing than satisfactory.³ Hardships and the inaction of winter quarters were no doubt partly responsible for these quarrels. With the opening of

¹ Thurloe, vii. 21, 24.

² Ib. vii. 70.

³ 'Le colonel croit que tout est fini quand il a dit que ce sont les effets de la haine que les Anglais ont pour les Français, et de ma vie je n'ai entendu plus extravagante raison.' Mazarin to Bordeaux, May 4. Bourelly, p. 118. Cf. *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 350.

CHAP. the campaign it might be hoped that this irritation
 XV would subside.
 1658

As spring came on each side began to prepare for action without waiting for the treaty to be signed. On April 1 Morgan drew out 400 foot and 50 horse from Mardyke, and joining with 400 men from the French garrison of Bourbourg, marched towards Grave-lines. He took two forts which the Spaniards had erected to protect the sluices, in order that they might be able to inundate the country near Bourbourg, and having blown them up returned to Mardyke.¹ Nothing much could be done, however, till the English contingent was brought up to its proper numbers. Mazarin and Lockhart had both repeatedly pressed the necessity of reinforcements on the English government. It was impossible, wrote the Cardinal on January 18, that the English corps could do good service in the state in which it now was. There were some companies which had no officers, and others where there were too many officers and no men. The officers, he said in a second letter, must be obliged to raise their companies to the full number of 100, and the whole force must be brought up to its proper strength of 6000 men.² Lockhart had never ceased to represent to Thurloe the diminution of the English contingent and the necessity of setting to work in time to levy fresh recruits to fill up its ranks. In March he wrote that 4000 men would be necessary.³ Nevertheless the English government was very slow to take the requisite measures. Though the Cardinal paid money for the levy of 3000 recruits about the beginning of April, it was not till the middle of May that they landed, and even then they were 600 or 700 short of the proper number, and for the most part

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 146, 147; *Mercurius Politicus*, April 1-8, p. 446.

² *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 268, 310.

³ Thurloe, vi. 854, *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 386.

untrained men.¹ Turenne pressed hard for the loan of two of the Protector's old regiments for a few weeks, and told Lockhart that without them he would not answer for the success of the design. With some difficulty the Protector agreed to send 1000 old soldiers. Half of the regiment of Colonel Salmon and half that of Colonel Gibbon were accordingly transported to Mardyke to serve in the campaign.²

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Equally important was the provision of an English fleet to assist the operations of the army. The Protector had, it was said, 146 ships of different kinds in service, and it was not difficult to provide a sufficient squadron.³ On February 27 Vice-Admiral Goodson with thirteen sail appeared before Ostend and proceeded to blockade it.⁴ He began his operations by taking or destroying certain Dutch vessels which attempted to enter that port. Enquiry showed that they had been hired by the Spanish ambassador, Gamarra, and were intended to transport Charles II's soldiers to the Norfolk coast.⁵

The capture of these vessels and the vigilance of which it gave proof frustrated the plans of the Royalists. 'From Flanders I am certainly informed,' wrote Thurloe, 'that all intentions of prosecuting their designs against England are wholly laid aside, and with Charles Stuart's consent that business is deferred till September next.'⁶

¹ *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 323, 352, 362, 367, 389, 409. About 2350 men landed in the middle of May. Thurloe, vii. 116, 127; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 386; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 149.

² Thurloe, vii. 52, 115, 125; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 152.

³ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 141, 143.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 307, 536.

⁵ See Goodson's letter of March 1. Rawlinson, *M.S.A.*, lxiii. 210, and the depositions in the same volume, pp. 209-25. Also Thurloe, vi. 842, 845, 850; vii. 31. *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 329. *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 392.

⁶ *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 399. Hyde in his letter of April 22 says that the design is postponed still later, 'his Majesty not making any doubt but to be in perfect readiness by the beginning of December.' *Ib.* iii. 401.

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This was not the only service which Goodson's fleet performed. The Spaniards were excessively weak in infantry, and Mazarin was informed that some 1500 soldiers had been collected at St. Sebastian to be transported to Flanders. Goodson was instructed to watch to intercept them, but the fear of the English navy prevented their transport from being attempted, though the Dutch had undertaken to provide ships for the purpose.¹

About the middle of May the Protector ordered several great ships to be made ready, in order to strengthen the squadron off the Flemish coast. Montagu, as general at sea, now took the command, and was instructed to co-operate with the French in the operations against Dunkirk. His flagship, the *Naseby*, was the finest vessel in the navy, and the symbolical figures which decorated her prow asserted in the most unequivocal fashion England's claim to the sovereignty of the seas.²

The campaign of 1658 opened unfavourably for the French. Their plans were disorganised by the revolt of the fortress of Hesdin in Artois. The governor of the town died and the second in command, Balthazar Fargues, anxious to retain the government and unable to prevent the grant of it, threw off his allegiance. Marshal d'Hocquincourt and his regiment joined Fargues; they treated with Condé, accepted him as their commander, and entered the pay

¹ *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 311, 354, 355; Thurloe, vii. 69; *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 239.

² Thurloe, vii. 133, 171; *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1658-9, pp. 399, 409. The *Naseby* carried 80 guns and 500 men, and was a ship of 1,229 tons burden. Tanner, *Catalogue of the Pepysian MSS.*, i. 256, 265. 'In the prow,' notes Evelyn, 'was Oliver on horseback, trampling six nations under foote, a Scott, Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, Spaniard, and English, as was easily made out by their several habits. A Fame held a laurel over his insulting head: the word *God with us*.' Diary, April 9, 1655.

of Spain. It was not unlikely that other discontented noblemen would follow the example of Hocquincourt and Fargues; and besides this the position of Hesdin seemed to render its possession indispensable for a campaign in western Flanders.¹ For that reason Mazarin pleaded hard with Lockhart that Hesdin should be retaken before Dunkirk was attacked; but Lockhart refused to listen to any proposal which would delay the attack on Dunkirk. However, to deceive the Spaniards it was given out, with Lockhart's assent, that Hesdin would be the first object of the campaign.²

Still more annoying was the business of Ostend. The French government had been for some months engaged in a scheme for the surprise of Ostend. A Walloon officer, Colonel Sebastian Spindeler, had undertaken to betray that port into their hands if a sufficient sum of money was paid him. His price was high and his good faith doubtful, so Mazarin, after some negotiation, resolved to abandon the scheme. Marshal d'Aumont, the governor of Calais, was more sanguine, and deceived by the news that a successful revolt had taken place at Ostend, attempted to land there on May 14 with 1500 men from Mardyke. When he landed he found that he was in a trap, lost nearly 500 men, and was himself taken prisoner.³ 'By all accounts,' wrote Lockhart, 'it is evident that he hath fallen into a trap which he digged for himself.'⁴ The Spaniards were jubilant. Ostend and Hesdin seemed prognostications of a successful campaign. The English government

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May
4
14

¹ Bourelly, pp. 107-11; Chéruel, iii. 135.

² *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 324. Thurloe, vi. 841, 853; vii. 52.

³ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 148; Thurloe, vii. 109, 113, 126. See *A Relation of the Defeating of Cardinal Mazarine's and Oliver Cromwell's Design to have taken Ostend by Treachery in the Year 1658, written in the Spanish by a person of quality and now translated*, 1666.

⁴ Thurloe, vii. 115.

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were contemptuous, although Mazarin explained to Cromwell that the catastrophe was due not merely to d'Aumont's rashness, but to his neglect of precautions which he had been positively ordered to take.¹ Thurloe told Monck that Spindeler had made the same offers to the Protector, who had rejected the plan as ridiculous. 'This we could have told the French if they had pleased to have communicated it to us, but they managed it so privately that none but their enemies knew of their intentions.'²

In spite of these discouragements Turenne pursued his plan of campaign undisturbed. Assembling his army about Amiens in the beginning of May he crossed the Somme on the 13th between Amiens and Corbie, and marched directly north-west as if he intended to lay siege to Hesdin. Louis XIV accompanied the army; and it was hoped that his presence before Hesdin would intimidate the rebels into surrender. Fargues, however, not only repressed any tendency to return to obedience amongst the garrison and the townspeople, but fired on the King and his escort to show his determination not to yield.³ As the demonstration proved fruitless Turenne did not linger, but turning his march to the north-east and crossing the river Lys at Merville on the 20th, arrived at Soex or Socx near Bergues on May 23. On his way his vanguard, under Crequi, captured Cassel, making prisoners the Duke of Gloucester's little garrison of 400 men and another Irish regiment in Spanish service.⁴ From Soex, Turenne could survey the country separating him from Dunkirk, which was less than

¹ *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 336, 364.

² *Clarke Papers*, iii. 149. Thurloe, vi. 655; vii. 128.

³ Bourelly, pp. 118-22, 138, 139. This was the cause of the bitter animosity Louis felt against Fargues. See St. Simon, *Mémoires*, iv. 311-13, ed. 1873.

⁴ Bourelly, p. 138; *Life of the Duke of York*, i. 336; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 150.

ten miles distant. The most difficult part of the campaign now began. The Spaniards had opened the sluices of the dykes and inundated the places which lay between him and Dunkirk. The only roads were along the dykes of the canal, which the Spaniards had broken at some points and guarded by forts at others. Repairing these breaches with planks and hurdles in some places, and making his soldiers wade through the water up to their waists in others, Turenne captured a couple of the forts and succeeded in establishing himself on the dyke of the canal which led from Bergues to Dunkirk. Meanwhile the Marquis de Castelnau, marching along the coast by Montreuil, Ardres, and Bourbourg, had joined the English contingent at Mardyke. While Turenne advanced on the east bank of the canal they advanced along the western, and on the 25th the two armies united before Dunkirk.¹

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May
15
25

Dunkirk, though well fortified, was badly provisioned and weakly garrisoned. Its defenders consisted of about 2200 foot and 800 horse. But its governor, the Marquis de Lede, was one of the best soldiers in the Spanish service.² Before the campaign began Lede had

¹ Bourelly, pp. 139-45. *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 368. Bussy-Rabutin, *Mémoires*, ed. 1857, ii. 53-5. *Précis des Campagnes de Turenne*, pp. 244-6. 'Marshal Turenne,' says Lieut.-Col. Hughes, 'came through Flanders unexpected with 11,000 men and gained the pass without opposition, and we on this side drew out 6000 foot and 1200 horse and forced our passage over two rivers and joyned with him' (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 150). English accounts are extremely meagre. Under May 16, *Mercurius Politicus* says that letters have arrived from Lockhart 'which certifie that our English had taken one passe upon the river which goeth to Dunkirke, and the French another passe upon the same river, both being places of such consideration that the possessing of them opened a way for a neere approach to the towne of Dunkirke, which by this means is now close besieged.' Unluckily Lockhart's letters, for this portion of the campaign, are not extant.

² Guillaume de Bette, Marquis of Lede in East Flanders, not Marquis de Leyde as he is sometimes styled. See Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 390. He had been Spanish Ambassador to England in April, 1655, and had defended Dunkirk against Condé in 1646.

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intelligence that Turenne meant to besiege Dunkirk, and urgently begged his government for supplies. But the authorities at Brussels turned a deaf ear to his appeals, telling him they were sure the French meant to attack Cambray, and that Dunkirk was not in danger. He went back to his command dejected, telling Charles II that he was going to defend a town without men, ammunition or victuals, against a strong and triumphant army, that he could not hold out long, and that all he could do was to lose his life in its defence.¹

The army with which Turenne laid siege to Dunkirk numbered not less than 25,000 men.² He invested Dunkirk on the south and east, establishing his headquarters among the Dunes, and pushing his cavalry towards Zuydcoote to cover his operations against attacks from the garrisons of Furnes or Nieuport. On the west side towards Mardyke were stationed the English under Lockhart, and 2000 French horse under Castelnau. Turenne began by constructing two lines of entrenchments round the town, an interior line to prevent the sorties of the garrison, and an exterior line to baffle attempts to throw in supplies and to defend the besiegers against a relieving army. The investment was completed by lines of stakes and chains which barred the road along the beach and made communication by that route impossible.³

Throughout the siege the assistance of the English fleet was of great value. On May 24, orders had been sent to Goodson to leave two or three ships

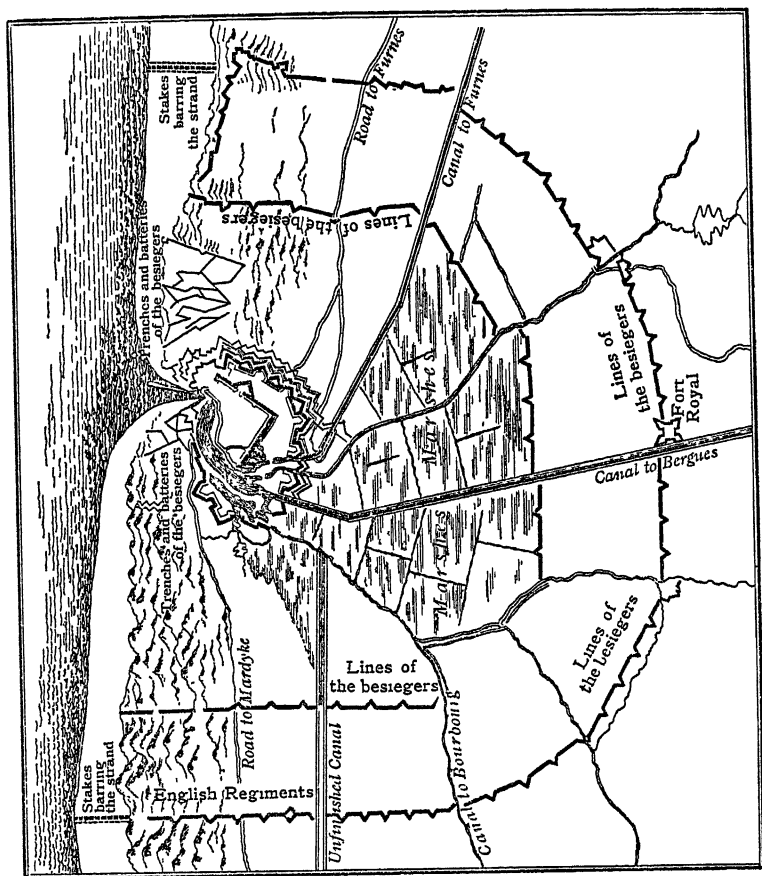
¹ Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xv. 134; cf. *Life of the Duke of York*, i. 337.

² Bourelly, pp. 145, 170, says they rose finally to 30,000. *Campagnes de Turenne*, Brussels, 1888, p. 246. *Clarke Papers*, iii. 152.

³ For a description of the fortifications, see Bourelly, p. 149, and *Précis des Campagnes de Turenne*, p. 247. The plan of the siege of Dunkirk given here is based on a contemporary French plan reproduced by Bourelly in his appendix.

before Ostend, to sail with the rest of the squadron to Dunkirk, and to co-operate with the French in 'all designs for the taking the said place.'¹ Montagu,

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PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF DUNKIRK

with the *Naseby* and other great ships, joined Goodson on June 4.² Their combined fleet made up over twenty

¹ Thurloe, vii. 133. See also *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 389, 393, 398.

² Thurloe, vii. 171, 172; cf. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1658-9, pp. 51, 409. Mazarin visited Montagu and greatly admired the *Naseby*: 'J'allay voir l'autre jour l'Amiral, qui est un aussi beau et bon vaisseau que j'en aye jamais veu.' Of Montagu he says: 'C'est, à mon advis, un des gentilhommes du monde

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men-of-war besides smaller vessels, who not only blockaded the harbour but helped in the attack on the seaward defences of the town. Protected by these, the supply of the besieging army was easy. Provisions of every kind were transported from Calais and other French ports to Mardyke, which served as a place of embarkation and dépôt. Calais, says a military writer, became the true basis of operations of the besiegers.¹

These works occupied the first ten days of the siege, for the sands and marshes which surrounded the town made progress slow. Nevertheless on the night of June 4 the trenches were opened, and the approaches pressed with great vigour. The besieged were active too, and made half a dozen sallies, in repulsing which the English did their fair share of fighting. 'The action passeth for a handsome one in the report of the French, who are not over apt to flatter us,' says Lockhart in his account of one of these repulses, adding, 'The enemy have been so well satisfied with the supper they then got that hitherto they have not expressed any appetite for a breakfast or any other meal of that nature.'² Another English officer, Lieut.-Colonel Hughes, says: 'Our English soldiers behaving themselves very handsome, have gained a general applause from all the grandees of the army; the French horse, who formerly hated us, are become very loving and civil, and had rather engage with us than with their own

le plus franc et mieux intentionné, et le plus attaché à la personne de M. le Protecteur' (*Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 475).

¹ *Précis des Campagnes de Turenne*, p. 246. On May 18, 1658, the Protector issued a declaration inviting merchants to send over forage and provisions for sale to the besieging army. *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 540.

² Thurloe, vii. 126. Four of the English regiments were posted together between the unfinished canal and the sea. The others were interspersed amongst the French cavalry between the unfinished canal and Fort Royal.

foot.’¹ In his letters to Mazarin, Turenne praised the English highly, saying that they proved themselves very good soldiers and showed great vigour in the trenches.²

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In this desultory fighting the loss of the English in killed and wounded was very heavy, amounting, it is said, to fifty or sixty every night as the trenches drew nearer to the walls. They suffered from disease too, for they were as ill prepared for the campaign as they had been during the winter. ‘Our friends in England,’ wrote Hughes, ‘have been very careless of us; the three thousand tents ordered us by the Council five weeks ago are not yet come, which causes a great sickness amongst us, having not one piece of wood within six miles to hut with.’ Nor was this the sole piece of neglect. ‘Our mortar pieces and shells have been here this three weeks, but the fire-master is still in England.’³

Meanwhile the Spanish leaders were preparing to relieve the town. Under the impression that Turenne meant to attack Cambray they had put strong garrisons in that city and in Aire, St. Omer, Gravelines and other frontier fortresses. Even when Dunkirk was attacked they still believed the attack was a feint, until the closeness of the investment convinced them of its reality. They were therefore slow to take the field, the more so since their army was in a bad condition for a campaign. The pay of the horse was in arrears, and the officers

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 152. *Thurloe*, vii. 126. This letter of Lockhart’s is misdated, and should probably be dated May 28–June 7.

² In one letter Turenne says that the English ‘témoignent en tout être fort bons soldats’; in another, ‘qu’ils ont beaucoup de vigueur dans les tranchées’; in a third, ‘les Anglais firent fort bien.’ The intendant of the French Army, Talon, in a letter of June 12 adds: ‘Il ne se peut rien ajouter à la fermeté des soldats Anglais, il ne faut que leur montrer ce qu’ils ont à faire pour en attendre sûrement l’exécution.’ *Bourelly*, p. 178; cf. *Thurloe*, vii. 146, 148.

³ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 152.

CHAP. of every branch had been unpaid for months. Their
 XV infantry was never weaker in numbers. No recruits
 1658 had arrived either from Spain, Italy, or Germany. The three or four thousand English and Irish soldiers who had gathered to the standard of Charles II had been reduced to about two thousand for want of food or clothing.¹

At the beginning of June, Don Juan, in accordance with the advice of a council of war, collected all the men he could muster at Ypres and set out to relieve Dunkirk. On the 9th he encamped at Nieupoort. On the 12th, 4000 Spanish horse advanced thence to reconnoitre the French position, and a skirmish took place in which Marshal d'Hocquincourt was mortally wounded. On the 13th the whole Spanish army, some 14,000 strong, took up its position on the sand-hills to the north-east of Dunkirk, and encamped there for the night. Their train of artillery, owing to the badness of the roads, had not yet come up. They had neither tools to entrench themselves with, nor did they think it necessary to take that precaution. For they were fully persuaded either that their presence would suffice to raise the siege, or that they would force Turenne's lines as easily as they had done at Valenciennes two years earlier. If he preferred to attack them, so much the better. The Duke of York told the Marquis de Caracena, and Don Estevan de Gamarra, that if the French did not fall upon them that night they certainly would do so next morning. Both replied at once that it was what they desired. 'I replied,' says the Duke, 'that I knew Monsieur de Turenne so well as to assure them they should have that satisfaction.'²

York was right. At first Turenne could hardly

¹ Bourelly, pp. 159, 160.

² *Life of James II*, i. 337-42.

believe that the whole of the Spanish army was there or that it intended to camp so near his position. But in the evening of the 13th an escaped prisoner was brought in who assured him that both these things were true. At once, and without calling a council of war, he resolved to attack the Spaniards next morning. It may be that a letter from Mazarin, suggesting that it would be more advantageous to go to meet the enemy than to await their attack in his lines, contributed to Turenne's decision; but it is more likely that his judgment was based on his own experience, and that the Cardinal's opinion was welcome as justifying him in the line of action he had adopted.¹

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Orders were issued that evening. Some 6000 men were left to guard the siege works, the rest were to assemble during the night, and be ready to march at dawn. Turenne sent a messenger to Lockhart to bid him prepare to fight to-morrow morning, and to explain his reasons for giving battle. Lockhart simply replied that he trusted in the Marshal, and that on the way back from the battle he would inquire what these reasons were.² He was somewhat surprised at the shortness of the warning, and extremely ill, yet finding there was no middle course between abandoning the siege and fighting, 'I chose rather,' he says, 'to trust God with the issue of the battle than to abandon so hopeful a cause.' He drew out his forces about ten

¹ For the Cardinal's letters, see *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 414, 422, and for a statement of the point involved, Chéruel, *Ministère de Mazarin*, iii. 160, and Bourelly, pp. 182, 215, 300. Major-General Morgan's account of the council of war before the battle is pure fiction. His narrative of the campaign, which was not written till 1675, is so exaggerated and so highly coloured that it cannot safely be followed. See *Stuart Tracts*, with an introduction by C. H. Firth, 1903, pp. xxviii-xxx. This volume, which is a selection from Arber's *English Garner*, contains a reprint of the *True and Just Relation of Major-General Sir Thomas Morgan's Progress in France and Flanders*, published in 1699.

² *Mémoires de Bussy-Rabutin*, ii. 59.

CHAP. o'clock; and being too ill to mount his horse, put himself
 XV at their head in his coach, and reached Turenne's
 1658 quarters next morning.¹

June
 4
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About four the next morning (Friday, June 14) the Spanish outposts reported that a strong body of horse was drawing out to attack them. The Duke of York, who was always a vigilant and active officer, hurried to the outposts and perceived at once that something more serious than a mere attempt to drive them in was impending. He could plainly see the whole French army coming out of their lines and forming in order of battle, the horse, with some guns before them, on each wing, the infantry in the centre. He could even distinguish on the left of the infantry, near the sea, the red coats of the Cromwellian regiments. Don Juan hardly credited York's story till it was confirmed by Condé; but when the Spanish leaders were convinced that a battle was at hand, they determined to fight where they stood rather than advance to meet the French. For if they advanced they would lose the advantage of their position, which seemed to them a strong one. Their infantry were stationed on a crescent-shaped range of sand-hills, which ran almost from one side to the other of the position. Don Juan's cavalry was posted behind the infantry, in the hollows amongst the sand-hills and on the more level ground in their rear.²

¹ Thurloe, vii. 155; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 157.

² The plan of the battle reproduced here is from a volume of plans by Sir Bernard de Gomme, an engineer in the service of Charles II, and by birth a Walloon (British Museum, Add. MS. 16370, f. 67). It may be compared with the contemporary French plan given in Bourelly's *Cromwell et Mazarin*, which shows the nature of the ground rather better, but does not show the position of the Spanish troops so accurately.

The peculiarity of the Spanish battle order was that there was no wing of horse to guard the right flank of the army. Originally there seems to have been a number of squadrons posted on the strand, as the faintly dotted lines in Gomme's plan indicate (though this is not mentioned by other authorities).

Condé and the rest of the cavalry were on the left, where the sand-hills sloped down to the meadows, and across the road which led from Dunkirk to Furnes. Their total forces consisted of not more than 14,000 or 15,000 men, of whom about 8000 were cavalry. Not more than 6000 or 7000 were infantry, and besides being few in number Don Juan's fifteen battalions were composed of very heterogeneous elements. Half a dozen nations were represented in their ranks. The extreme right of the position was held by four battalions of native Spaniards, veteran soldiers of tried discipline and courage. Then came Charles II's little force, one English regiment, one Scottish, and

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In the battle the Spanish cavalry were posted behind the infantry. The Chevalier de Clerville's account of the campaign supplies the following explanation of the Spanish order: 'On vit par expérience, que l'on avait fait une grande faute que de l'avoir terminée par le corps de l'infanterie espagnole qui en tenait l'extrémité, sans l'avoir garnie de cavalerie par le flanc, et de n'en avoir pas mis au moins quelques escadrons sur l'estran pour l'assurer, au lieu de la mettre en plusieurs lignes derrière le corps de l'infanterie.' He adds that three reasons for this were given, of which one was of some weight, but two inadmissible:

'La première, que la dune sur laquelle étaient les régiments espagnols de Bonifacio et de Gogua, était si haute et apparemment si inaccessible que, loin d'avoir besoin d'être assistée de cavalerie, elle semblait devoir assister la cavalerie et, comme une forte citadelle, tenir toute l'aile droite en assurance.

'La seconde était que l'on avait cru que la marée monterait, et qu'elle n'aurait pas longtemps enduré sur l'estran la cavalerie qu'on y aurait mise, ce qui aurait été mal remarqué.

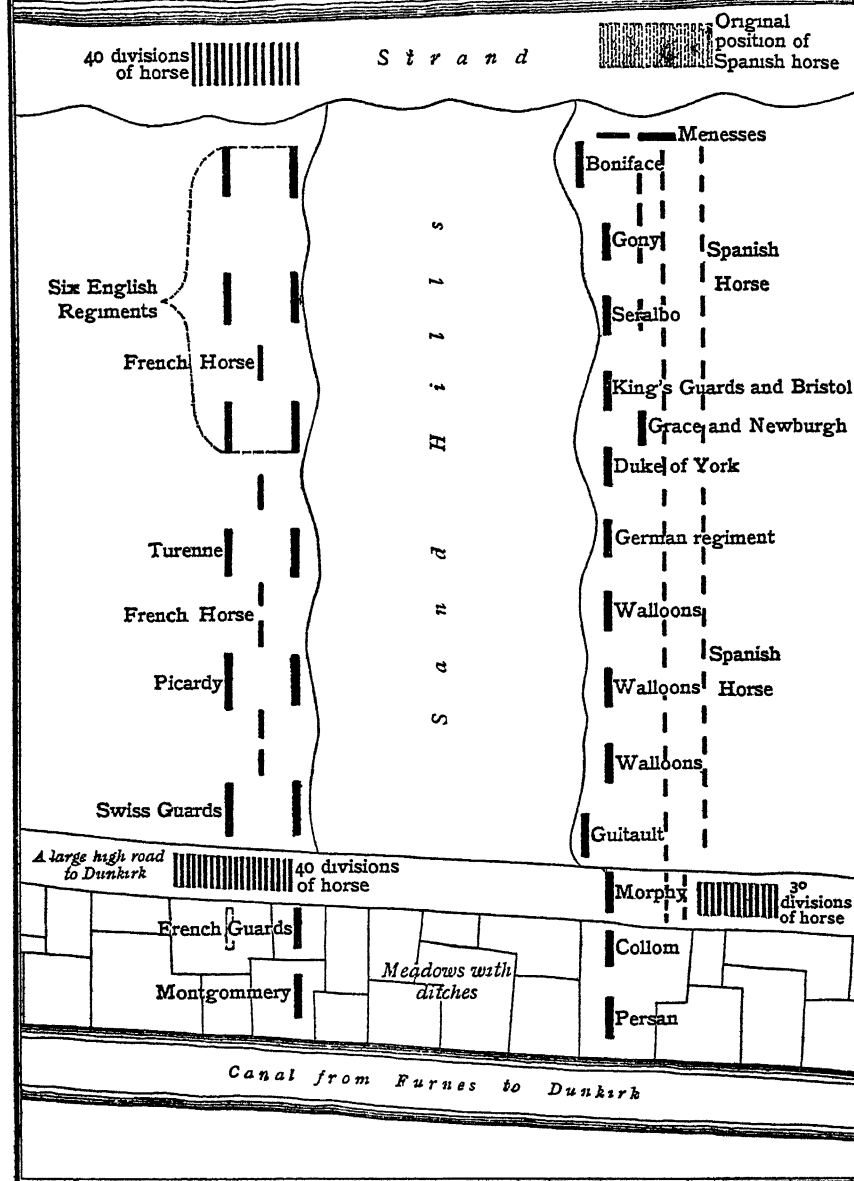
'La troisième était que l'on avait appréhendé que les vaisseaux anglais ne vinssent bordayer au long de la rade opposée au champ de bataille, et qu'à coups de canon, ils n'eussent chassé la cavalerie qu'on avait mis dessus l'estran, ce qui n'était que fort médiocrement à craindre vu la grande distance qu'il y avait de là au lieu plus proche ou les moins pesants vaisseaux pourraient arriver.'

The result was that the cavalry of the French left under Castelneau 'ne reconstrant point de cavalerie sur l'estran, qui s'opposât à eux, trouvèrent non seulement le flanc de l'infanterie découvert, mais aussi eurent moyen de tourner, par un caracol de droite à gauche, sur celui de la cavalerie.' Bourelly, pp. 303, 306.

The battle is said to have begun soon after eight in the morning. High tide at Dunkirk on June $\frac{4}{14}$, 1658, was about ten minutes past eleven. This last piece of information I owe to the kindness of Mr. J. K. Fotheringham.

English Men of War

THE NORTH SEA



THE BATTLE OF THE DUNES, JUNE 4, 1658.

three Irish, forming between them three composite battalions. Further to the right were the Germans and the Walloons, and Condé's infantry, who were partly French.

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The key of the position seemed to be the sand-hill on the extreme right where the Spanish veterans were stationed. 'It was the highest of the sand-hills on that side,' says the Duke of York, 'and it advanced somewhat further than any of the rest which were thereabout, commanding also those which were nearest to it.' A French officer describes it as about a hundred and fifty feet high and inaccessible on two of its sides; an English one terms it 'a great hill naturally fortified.'¹ Don Gaspar Boniface and his regiment held it, reinforced by a party of a hundred picked men from one of Charles II's battalions.

The French army advanced slowly and deliberately, halting about eight o'clock on a lower ridge opposite the Spanish position and about five or six hundred yards from it. Turenne had no intention of attacking till he had carefully reconnoitred the Spanish line and discovered its weak points. But he had not allowed for the difficulty of holding in his allies. The Cromwellian contingent was posted on the extreme left of the French infantry, and the advance had thus placed it opposite the Spanish regiments. It consisted of between 4000 and 5000 men, forming in all seven battalions, each consisting of a regiment. The four regiments of Lockhart, Lillingston, Alsop, and apparently that of Cochrane, were in the first line, those of Morgan, Clarke, and Pepper in the second. All were eager to fight. As soon as they came in sight of the Spaniards they gave a shout 'that made a roaring echo between the sea and the canal.' 'It was a usual custom of the redcoats to rejoice when

¹ *Life of James II*, i. 347; Bourelly, p. 306; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 147.

CHAP. they saw the enemy,' explained Morgan to Turenne.
 XV To which Turenne answered that they were men of a
 1658 brave resolution and courage. In their eagerness to
 June fight the English outmarched the French, and when the
 4 whole line halted they could not be brought to a stand
 14 till they were some distance in advance of the rest.
 The result was that they were within musket shot of the
 Spanish regiments on the great sand-hill, and the Spaniards fired a couple of volleys into them which did some damage in the ranks. But their commanders would not draw them back. Major-General Morgan was resolved that he would not lose one foot of the ground he had gained, and his officers and men were equally stubborn. Both preferred to attack the Spaniards on the projecting hill without waiting for Turenne's orders, and even against orders.

Nevertheless the attack was not a mere rush at the enemies' position. Some detachments of picked foot had been stationed amongst the squadrons of French horse on the strand. These 'four hundred firelocks' Lockhart now recalled, and ordered to take part in the attack on the sand-hill, by firing on the two sides which were inaccessible, whilst their comrades climbed it in front. Lockhart's regiment led the attack on the hill while Lillingston's, the next on the right, supported Lockhart's. Descending into the hollow which lay between their position and that of the Spaniards, the two regiments halted for a moment at its foot to cheer and to take breath. Meanwhile the firelocks, opening to the right and left to give way to their main body, fired continually at Boniface's regiment on the top of the hill, and Lockhart's men struggled up the sandy slopes that faced them. It was 'more steep,' said an English officer, 'than any ascent of a breach that I have seen.' 'Our men,' says another, 'crept up the hill on hands and

knees.' Fenwick, Lockhart's lieutenant-colonel, was mortally wounded, and other officers fell too; but the regiment gained the top, fired a volley, and closing with the Spaniards with levelled pikes and clubbed muskets drove them from the hill. Boniface's men fought well and left behind them dead on the hill seven out of their eleven captains, and the two captains commanding the detachment of English Royalists which the Duke of York had sent to reinforce them.

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Not content with this exploit, Lockhart's regiment, reforming itself after the struggle on the hilltop, proceeded down the further side of the sand-hill to the more level ground beyond. There it was at once charged by the Duke of York with his own troop of horse guards and that of Don Juan, but without any success. 'What with the advantage of the ground,' says the Duke, 'and with the stout resistance they made in that first charge I was beaten off, and all who were at the head of my own troop, were either killed or wounded; of which number I had been one had not the goodness of my arms preserved me.' York rallied what was left of his troop; and getting together the remains of Boniface's regiment watched his opportunity and made a second attack upon Lockhart's regiment, who were still slowly advancing. This time he took them in the flank, and 'broke into them,' doing some execution; but they fought stubbornly, till the opportune arrival of a squadron of French horse obliged their assailants to make good their retreat.¹ 'Tis observable,' says the Duke, 'that when

¹ French accounts represent the fate of the struggle for the great dune as determined by a flank attack of the French cavalry under Castelnau on the Spanish cavalry in the rear of the infantry (Bourelly, p. 198, and Clerville's narrative, *ib.* p. 306).

English accounts seem to place the appearance of the French cavalry later. After describing the capture of the dune one of them goes on to say: 'Then the enemies horse charged that party of our men with some prejudice to them; but we following them close and coming up to the reserve, the Count

CHAP. we had broken into this battalion, and were got amongst
 XV them, not so much as one single man asked for quarter,
 1658 or threw down his arms, but every one defended him-
 June self to the last ; so that we ran as much danger by the
 $\frac{4}{14}$ butt end of their muskets as by the volley which they
 had given us. And one of them had infallibly knocked
 me off my horse, if I had not prevented him when he
 was just ready to have discharged his blow, by a stroke
 I gave him with my sword over the face, which laid
 him along upon the grass.’¹

Long before this the engagement had become general all over the field. The Marquis of Castelnau, with the cavalry of the French left, advancing along the seashore, had attacked Don Juan’s cavalry and completed the rout of the Spanish right. On the Spanish left Condé was holding his own against the Marquis de Créquy and the cavalry of Turenne’s right. In the centre, however, the French infantry had driven back with very slight resistance the weak battalions of Walloons and Germans opposed to it. Condé’s own foot regiment fought well, but it, too, was finally broken by the Comte de Soissons and a regiment of Swiss. The three battalions who served Charles II met a similar fate. The King’s own guards, commanded by Colonel Thomas Blague, stood their ground, fought well, and were mostly taken prisoners. The Duke of York’s Irish foot were de Schomberg came and told us that he would second us with a reserve of horse, which he did accordingly and they came up to second us. And here the enemy was so warmly plied by our united forces that they immediately betook themselves to their heels’ (*Mercurius Politicus*, p. 581). This is apparently confirmed by the Duke of York’s account (*Life*, i. 352). On the other hand, Schomberg was in command of the second line of the French cavalry of the left wing.

Another English account says that, till the infantry had taken the hill, ‘there was not a Frenchman that engaged ; but after (it may be that the horse wanted passage before) the Count de Schamburge ledd on a body of French horse, which gave the fatall blow’ (Thurloe, vii. 160). This, however, seems to be mainly a repetition of the account in *Mercurius Politicus*.

¹ *Life of James II*, i. 351.

overtaken by the cavalry as they retired, and, either cut to pieces or captured, though Lord Muskerry, their commander, succeeded in escaping. Ormond's regiment of Irishmen, led by Colonel Richard Grace, made good its retreat, and got off intact and in good order.

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The disasters of the right and the centre of the Spanish army naturally involved the defeat of Condé and the left. All that a soldier or a general could do to retrieve the day he did. One successful charge he headed in person, but in a second his horse was killed under him, and twice he was nearly captured, till finally he rallied what horse he could and made his way to Furnes.

By twelve o'clock the battle was over. About 1000 of the beaten army fell on the field, and about 4000 were taken prisoners, including 500 officers. The loss was heaviest among the old Spanish infantry, who were all either killed or taken prisoners. The victorious army lost not more than 400 men, of whom nearly half were English. In the Cromwellian contingent the three regiments of Lockhart, Lillingston, and Alsop suffered most. In Lockhart's every officer was killed or wounded, excepting two; in Lillingston's there were thirty or forty killed. Alsop's suffered less, and the other regiments hardly at all.

In his dispatch Turenne did justice to the vigour with which the English stormed the sand-hill. 'They came on like wild beasts,' said a Spanish officer. 'The English have such a reputation in this army as nothing can be more,' wrote Colonel Drummond to Monk. 'The English are generally cried up for their unparalleled courage,' reported Lord Fauconberg when he returned from the French court.¹ Nor was their general less praised for his conduct both during the siege and the

¹ Thurloe, vii. 158: *Clarke Papers*. iii. 154.

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battle. 'As to the siege of Dunkirk,' reported Fauconberg, 'by the little discourse I have had with the Duc de Créquy, Chevalier Grammont, and others, I find they infinitely esteem my lord Lockhart for his courage, care, and enduring the fatigue beyond all the men they ever saw. These were their own words.' It was to Lockhart's generalship and to his personal leadership that the exploits of the English in the battle were attributed, and all united in his praise.¹

On the evening after the battle the besieging forces returned to their lines. Though Turenne had left about 5000 men to guard them, including 1000 of the English contingent, the besieged had made a successful sortie and pillaged part of the French camp. The quarters of the English had suffered, and Lockhart's baggage and his tent were both burnt. For the next ten days the siege was pressed with renewed vigour.² Fort Leon and a detached fort of wood, which guarded

¹ 'Les Anglois à la tête desquels étoit milord Locar grimperent à la dune,' &c. (*Mémoires de Bussy-Rabutin*, ii. 65). 'Ces quatre bataillons, à la tête desquels étoit le chevalier Lockhart leur général, s'en allèrent d'une course précipitée grimper, non obstant une périlleuse grêle de mousquetades, sur cette dune, qui avoit plus de centcinquante pieds de hauteur et qui étoit tout à fait inaccessible par deux de ses côtés' (Clerville's narrative, Bourelly, p. 306). 'He resolved to charge at the head of his own regiment,' says Colonel Drummond. *Clarke Papers*, iii. 154.

On the other hand the Duke of York says: 'The first who engaged us were the English led up by Major-General Morgan; their generall Lockhart (for what reason I know not) being with Mons. de Castelnau at the head of their left wing' (*Life of James II*, i. 347). And Morgan, in his well-known narrative, says that, while the English regiments were preparing to march out on the morning of the battle, 'Ambassador Lockhart comes up with a white cap on his head, and said to Major-General Morgan: "You see what condition I am in, I am not able to give you any assistance this day. You are the older soldier, and the greatest part of the work of the day must be upon your soldiers." Upon which the officers smiled. So he bade "God be with us" and went away with the Lieutenant-General of the horse that was upon our left wing. From which time we never saw him till we were in pursuit of the enemy.' Lockhart's own account (*Thurloe*, vii. 155) is very clear and consistent.

² Bourelly, pp. 208, 227-32; *Thurloe*, vii. 155, 161, 169, 173; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 159; *Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 618, 619, 632.

the mouth of the harbour, were both taken. Batteries were erected there, and the heavy mortars of the English began to play upon the town. Both French and English effected lodgments in the counterscarp. In the struggle for the possession of the counterscarp the Marquis de Ledewas mortally wounded, and his successor, M. de Bassecourt, judging further resistance hopeless, capitulated on June 24.

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Early on June 25, the 1500 men that were left of the garrison marched out and took their way to St. Omer. At midday Louis XIV entered Dunkirk in state, attended a thanksgiving service in the great church, and promised protection and peculiar favour to the heads of the religious communities of the town. In the evening the town was handed over to the English general. Lockhart pressed Louis XIV to remain in Dunkirk, but the King preferred to return to Mardyke. Outwardly he was on the best of terms with his allies. He gave Lockhart the keys of Dunkirk with his own hand. At this very moment the Duc de Créquy was landing in England with an autograph letter from Louis, congratulating the Protector on the victory over the Spaniards and the approaching fall of the town.² But the King regarded the cession of his conquest to his allies as a cruel necessity, and was not desirous to see the new masters of the town enter into its possession.

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Mazarin had no such regrets. He felt like a speculator who has made a good bargain, and paid down the price with cheerfulness and even exultation. Immediately after the battle of the Dunes, he instructed Bordeaux to congratulate the Protector on the result. He

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¹ Bourelly, p. 232 ; Chérueil, iii. 145 ; *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 464.

² Guizot, ii. 593. Créquy landed on June 15-25, had audience the next day, and left England June 21. *Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 619, 634 ; *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 440.

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was to tell him with what joy the Cardinal saw that it had pleased God to ensure the capture of Dunkirk, notwithstanding all the cabals and intrigues to hinder the success of the enterprise, and in spite of the wrath with which some men regarded the close union of the two nations—and not only to make the capture certain, but by the destruction of the veteran infantry of Spain to put their enemies in such a condition that it would be long before they could even think of regaining the place. His Highness would thus have Dunkirk without any fear that his enemies could form the least design against it. This would further strengthen that union between the two kingdoms which was capable of being increasingly advantageous to both, and would constrain their enemies to agree to a satisfactory peace as the only way to put a stop to their losses.¹ When Dunkirk actually fell, he wrote directly to Cromwell expressing his joy. The Protector, he said, would learn from Lockhart with what exactness he had kept all his promises, and would fulfil his own pledges with the same fidelity, so that France might see that if he had done his best to satisfy his Highness it was done in the assurance that his country too would reap solid advantages thereby.²

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Lockhart reported to his government that the French soldiers were enraged at the cession of Dunkirk. 'The generality of the army are even mad to see themselves part with what they call "un si bon morceau" or so delicate a bit.' The Cardinal, however, 'is still constant to his promises, and seems as glad to give the place to his Highness, as I can be to receive it.'³ There were men around the Cardinal who filled his ears with stories against the English, and said that now they

¹ *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 466.

² Guizot, ii. 594.

³ Thurloe, vii. 174.

had got Dunkirk all their fair promises would evaporate into smoke.¹ Disputes and difficulties of every kind followed the surrender, but Mazarin was conciliatory and kept faith with his allies. 'If the Cardinal did not moderate and bridle the humours of the French,' wrote Lockhart a month later, 'I am confident we should have been by the ears ere now.'²

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This fidelity was the more creditable since the alliance with England had roused great hostility in France, which had found expression when Mardyke was handed over to Cromwell, and grew still louder when Dunkirk passed into their hands. The feeling was strongest among the clergy, and Mazarin's old antagonist, Cardinal de Retz, made himself its mouth-piece. In a pamphlet which he printed early in 1658 the case against the alliance was presented with vigorous and biting rhetoric. Its keynote was that the feelings of France and of Catholic Europe had been outraged by the policy of the Cardinal. The true religion had been weakened and insulted; the most pernicious heresy that ever dishonoured Christendom had been strengthened. Mardyke and Dunkirk were not the end of the Protector's designs, as his conduct, even in the smallest matters touching the interests of Protestantism, showed. Some day the towns won for him at the price of French blood and French money, and of honour and conscience too, might be used as arsenals against France. How could the King forget the difference between England as a monarchy and England as a republic? The monarchy was a respectable European power, the republic a state formidable to all the world. No prince in Europe could unite his interests with those of the King of France when he saw him helping in the establishment of a republic which at

¹ Thurloe, vii. 187.

² July 27, 1658. Ib. vii. 279.

CHAP. its birth inflamed both hemispheres and braved the
 XV universe.
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Never admitting for a moment that France derived any advantages from the alliance in its struggle with Spain, De Retz represented the war in Flanders as a gratuitous sacrifice of French soldiers for English interests. He pictured the fields of Dunkirk black with battalions fighting like gladiators in an arena, and a handful of Englishmen looking on with folded arms like the spectators of a show. In the background he drew Cromwell, that false prophet, watching from the summit of the Tower of London those unhappy conflicts in which all the blood shed, whether French or Spanish, was Catholic blood, an offering to his fanatical illusions. 'And the worst of all,' said he, 'is this, that we are not content to sacrifice the age we live in to the will of this tyrant, but seek to enthrall even our posterity to England by the surrender of these famous and important places.'¹

Mazarin remained unshaken by these attacks. His letters manifest throughout his conviction of the utility of the alliance and his determination to maintain it.² Moreover, he still had need of Cromwell's soldiers and Cromwell's ships.

¹ This pamphlet, the 'Très humble et très importante Remontrance au roi sur la remise des places maritimes de Flandre entre les mains des Anglois,' generally attributed to De Retz, is reprinted in vol. v. of the edition of the *Mémoires* of De Retz edited by M. R. de Chantelauze, and quoted at great length by Bourelly (pp. 64-71). It appeared about the beginning of 1658, and was translated into Spanish after the battle of the Dunes, and prefaced by a copy of the fictitious Anglo-French league of May, 1657. An English version of it was published in June, 1659, under the title of *France no friend to England* (British Museum, E. 986 (21)). Servien defended Mazarin's policy in 'Remarques sur la Reddition de Dunkerque' (Bourelly, p. 258). In one of his letters Lookhart mentions an earlier attack on Mazarin's policy which the Cardinal himself showed him, telling the ambassador 'that his enemies had recompensed the injury they had done him by putting him in the same category with his Highness' (Thurloe, vi. 726).

² *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 194, 241, 279, 425, 448, 451, &c.

News of the victory of the Dunes reached London on Sunday, June 16; and it was promptly transmitted by the government to the city clergy, in order that they might announce it from the pulpit. It seemed peculiarly appropriate, since the day of battle had been a day of public prayer. 'This mercy is the greater,' wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, 'in respect it was obtained the very day whilst his Highness and the Council were keeping a day of fasting and prayer to seek God for help in that siege; and truly I never was present at any such exercise where I saw a greater spirit of faith and prayer poured forth; and it was a mere providence of God that ordered the fight and the seeking of the Lord to be upon that day.'¹ The coincidence did not escape the notice of the court poet. Marvell in his lines on the Protector's death dwelt on the proved efficacy of his prayers in determining the fate of battles.²

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Astonished armies did their flight prepare,
And cities strong were stormed by his prayer,
Of that forever Preston's field shall tell
The story, and impregnable Clonmel,³
And where the sandy mountain Fenwick scaled,⁴
The sea between, yet hence his prayer prevailed.
What man was ever so in Heaven obeyed
Since the commanded sun on Gibeon stayed?

Ten days later, when the Duc de Créquy and his mission were congratulating Cromwell on the victory of the Dunes, came the news of the surrender of Dunkirk and its occupation by the English forces. The English government ordered a public thanksgiving to take

¹ Thurloe, vii. 158. Fleetwood writes in similar terms (ib. p. 159). On the coming of the news, see Guizot, ii. 590, and *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 578.

² 'A Poem upon the Death of his late Highness the Lord Protector,' by Andrew Marvell, lines 185-92.

³ Refers apparently to the evacuation of Clonmel by O'Neill, when Cromwell had failed to storm it.

⁴ The great dune where Fenwick was mortally wounded.

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place on July 21 throughout England. The Protector's declaration enumerated the 'dispensations of the last five months': the trouble with the Parliament, the preparations of the Royalists for a rising, and those of Charles Stuart and the Spaniards for an invasion, the epidemic sickness which had raged throughout England, and the unseasonable spring. Now the sickness had abated, the weather changed, and the fears of domestic insurrection or foreign invasion were over.

'Lastly, in that place where the enemy laid all his designs from whence to invade us, and to give us trouble, and had brought it to that pass for the heightening of their confidence both there and here, that they were ready even to triumph, as having as good as obtained their wishes, even there hath the great God abased them, and brought them low in a signal victory gained by the French and us over them; in which success the French themselves have owned much to the honour of the English nation, not without admiration, observing that the English on our part should behave themselves with so much valour and undaunted resolution, and the English on Charles Stuart's part more cowardly than any in the Spanish army. The Lord also hath in the same place given us a port town, not the worst in Flanders, which we beg we may make use of to the glory of God, and the good of the Christian cause.'¹

To Cromwell and to militant Puritanism in general 'the Christian cause' meant the cause of European Protestantism and the overthrowing of the power of Spain. 'It is observable,' wrote Fleetwood on the fall of Dunkirk, 'how the hearts of people are opened to the work of Flanders in the hopes that the Lord is preparing

¹ 'Declaration of his Highness the Lord Protector for a day of Publick Thanksgiving,' July 3, 1658, pp. 8, 9.

a way for the further carrying on that great work against that antichristian power.'¹

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The capture of Dunkirk was but the beginning of a great campaign. Leaving the town to its new masters, Turenne set to work systematically to conquer the western part of Flanders. By the terms of the treaty with England, after 3000 of the English contingent had been drawn off to garrison Dunkirk, the remainder were to be at the disposal of the King of France. Accordingly Major-General Morgan, with his own regiment and those of Cochrane, Clarke, and Lillingston, fought under Turenne's conduct for the rest of the year. It was a war of sieges, for the Spanish army was too much weakened to venture another battle; and one place after another fell into the hands of the French.

Bergues, which was invested on June 27, was taken two days later. The English force suffered some loss in the siege, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hughes was mortally wounded.² Furnes, which was the next to be attacked, capitulated on July 3,³ while Dixmude followed on July 9.⁴ There was then a pause for over a fortnight, partly in order to strengthen the fortifications of Dixmude before leaving it, and partly because Louis XIV had fallen dangerously ill, which led Mazarin to order Turenne to suspend for the time further operations. The enterprise Turenne had resolved to take in hand next was the siege of Gravelines—a place which was held to be the strongest town in the Low Countries, for it had three ditches which the tide filled daily, and had been elaborately fortified by the best Spanish engineers. The town was invested at the close of July.

¹ To Henry Cromwell, June 21, 1658. Thurloe, vii. 190.

² Thurloe, vii. 187, 237, 239; *Mercurius Politicus*, June 17-24, p. 634.

³ Thurloe, vii. 200.

⁴ *Ib.* vii. 238, 250.

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Marshal la Ferté with about 10,000 men conducted the siege, while Turenne with 7000 horse and 3000 foot at once covered the besiegers, and protected the three captured towns of Bergues, Furnes, and Dixmude. Two of Cromwell's frigates and some smaller vessels simultaneously blockaded the harbour. At one moment a battle seemed imminent. Don Juan and the Prince of Condé had succeeded in getting together a considerable force, and they advanced to St. Omer in order to raise the siege; but Turenne barred their way, and on August 27 Gravelines was forced to capitulate.¹ Immediately after its fall Turenne marched on Oudenarde, which fell into his hands on September 9.² Four days later a new disaster befell the Spaniards. The Prince de Ligne, who with about 3500 men was marching from Ypres to Tournay, was intercepted and routed by Turenne, losing nearly the whole of his command.³ A day or two later Menin opened its gates, and Turenne, turning westwards again, laid siege to Ypres. There Morgan and the English soldiers greatly distinguished themselves by the valour with which they stormed the counterscarp and the outworks.⁴ The town surrendered

¹ On the siege, see Chéruel, *Ministère de Mazarin*, iii. 185-91, and Thurloe, vii. 250, 258, 270, 282, 320-3, 328. Mazarin was very anxious to obtain 3000 more foot from Cromwell for the siege, for Turenne's infantry was much weakened. But the Protector refused (ib. vii. 250, 253, 258). Lockhart prepared to join Turenne with 1000 foot and 200 horse (ib. vii. 336).

² Chéruel, iii. 195.

³ This affair, which is misdated by Bourelly, took place on September 3-13, which, as the English newspapers point out, was the day of Cromwell's death. See *Mercurius Politicus*, September 9-16, p. 822, and September 16-23, p. 841. To this Marvell refers in his poem, 'Upon the Death of his late Highness,' in the curious lines—

'And the last minute his victorious ghost
Gave chase to Ligny on the Belgic coast.'

On the importance of the battle, see *Life of James II*, p. 367; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 163.

⁴ On the siege of Ypres, see Chéruel, iii. 196. Morgan in his narrative gives a long account of this assault, and an amusing description of his discussion with Turenne on the subject. His details are too highly coloured to be trustworthy,

on September 26, and with that the campaign practically ended. For Turenne's infantry was worn out by hard service, the wet weather prevented any extensive operations, and it was necessary to refortify the recent conquests.¹

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While Turenne was conquering Flanders, Lockhart was organising as best he could the military and civil administration of England's new possessions. The task of keeping them permanently in English hands was not likely to be easy. Lockhart calculated that Dunkirk and Mardyke required a garrison of about 4000 foot and 400 horse, if they were to be seriously held. Out of that number 1000 must be stationed at Mardyke and 500 at Fort Royal, which was a detached fort at some little distance from Dunkirk on the way to Bergues. The number of men he had under his command was never more than 3000; but, so long as Turenne's army kept the field and the adjacent towns were held by French garrisons, the deficiency was not a serious danger.² Another difficulty was the state of the fortifications. Those of Dunkirk had been greatly damaged during the siege, and, after its capture, by the French soldiers, who pulled up the palisades to use them for firewood. At Mardyke the shifting sands filled up the ditches, and constant labour was needed to keep the

and, as usual, he lays claim to all the merit for himself and his soldiers. But the fact that the English did specially distinguish themselves in that way is confirmed by the newsletters printed in *Mercurius Politicus*, September 23-30, pp. 886-8.

¹ After the close of the campaign the English regiments with Turenne took up their winter quarters first at Amiens and then nearer Mardyke, viz. at Bourbourg. Thurloe, vii. 466, 670, 694; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 179.

² See *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 1509. Lockhart's garrison consisted of his own regiment, Col. Alsop's, nine companies of Col. Gibbon's, and nine companies of Col. Salmon's. The two last were on the English establishment, and so do not appear in the table in Thurloe, vii. 239. He had also a regiment of horse under Col. Bridge, and finally in August half Lillingston's regiment of foot which was quartered at Mardyke. Thurloe, vii. 170, 179, 207-238 250, 319.

CHAP. works in a defensible state.¹ What with the cost of
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The civil administration of Dunkirk presented several contentious problems. The chief difficulty was the question of religion. By the eleventh article of the treaty with France, the Protector had undertaken to preserve intact the rights of the Catholic religion in Dunkirk and Mardyke. Before Dunkirk was handed

¹ On the fortifications, see Thurloe, vii. 173, 186, 207. They were in good repair by the end of August (ib. vii. 319), according to Lockhart, though in May, 1659, Col. Alsop thought it impossible to hold the town, and said that Mardyke could not be defended for four days (ib. vii. 668, 694).

² In 1662 Monck calculated roughly that the garrisons of Dunkirk and Mardyke cost about £60,000 a year for their pay during the Protectorate (Lister, iii. 214). A report on the revenue and expenditure presented to the House of Commons on April 7, 1659, showed that the pay of the three regiments of foot and regiment of horse forming the garrison amounted to £77,366 per annum exclusive of an allowance for clothing (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 629). For the rate of pay, see Thurloe, vii. 239. An account of the revenue of Dunkirk (Thurloe, vii. 707) shows a gross revenue of £21,000, out of which about £15,000 might be devoted to the garrison. One source of revenue in Dunkirk was the excise (Thurloe, vii. 303-5).

³ Thurloe, vii. 178, 198, 216, 466.

⁴ Ib. vii. 216.

over to Lockhart he was obliged to sign an engagement to that effect, which was to be confirmed by the Protector within a month. Lockhart did not hesitate to take this engagement. 'It is just I should do so,' he wrote, 'and therefore I have not scrupled it.' The attempt to impose a further engagement he naturally resisted. The terms of surrender granted to the garrison he agreed to; but Turenne had also granted articles of capitulation to the citizens of Dunkirk, and these last Lockhart refused to confirm. The Protector's sovereignty, he argued, could not be restricted in this way, and he carried his point. 'At last the Cardinal quit all pretences that can be bottomed upon their mock articles with the town; and acknowledged that his Highness had the only title to all that can be claimed of jurisdiction over the town as prince and sovereign, and that he alone hath right to all the powers, profits, and emoluments that were due to any of their former princes. The treaty with France, upon which I ground his Highness' right to this place, reserves to the inhabitants of it the enjoyment of their property, the liberty of their conscience, and the administration of justice according to their usual laws and customs in all matters of difference between man and man. This is all his Highness is bound to by his treaty with France, which being just in itself I make it my study that all privileges of this nature be inviolably preserved.'¹

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Lockhart began by issuing a series of orders for the

¹ The words of article xi were 'Omnia ibi quod ad Religionem Catholicam pertinet, relinquet in eodem statu quo ea reperit. Et inde Ecclesiastici tam regulares quam alii, nihil adversus regimen cui submissi fuerint molientes, suis redditibus securi fruentur et ecclesiarum possessione, quarum nulla prorsus trahi poterit in usum Religionis Protestantis; nec ulla tandem Religioni Catholicae quovis praetextu mutatio poterit adferri.' Guizot, *Oliver Cromwell*, appendix, xxiv; see Dumont, vi, ii. 224. A slightly different version is given by Lockhart: 'dummodo nihil adversus regimen cui in posterum submissi erunt moliantur' (Thurloe, vii. 116). See also Thurloe, vii. 175, 185; Bourelly, p. 234; *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 279, 476.

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1658 maintenance of discipline amongst the English garrison and to secure the good behaviour of the soldiers in their quarters. The citizens of Dunkirk received their new governor well, and even tried to make him believe that they had long desired to be under the Protector's rule if their religion could have been secured; but Lockhart did not trust them.¹ All the inhabitants of the town were required to take an oath to be faithful to the Lord Protector and his successors, not to attempt anything against his authority, and to reveal any conspiracies which might come to their knowledge.² They were also rigidly disarmed.³ Those, however, who preferred to remain Spanish subjects were allowed to emigrate. 'I have given them leave,' wrote Lockhart, 'to transport their goods to Nieuport as peaceably as if they had removed from one street in London to another.'⁴

Lockhart was careful to protect the ecclesiastics as well as the citizens. Immediately after he took possession, he issued orders threatening severe punishment to any soldier who should 'offer any injury or abuse to the ecclesiastics or Romish churchmen of what order soever, or condition, in the streets, in their houses, convents, or churches.' It was very necessary, for as soon as the English troops entered the town 'it was openly discoursed among them that it was fit to pillage the place, and especially the churches where there was much riches.' The insolence of the soldiers 'went to that height that one of them lighted his pipe of tobacco at one of the wax lights of the altar where the priest was saying mass.' Lockhart called the

¹ Thurloe, vii. 178.

² *Ib.* vii. 198. The text of the oath is given in *Mercurius Politicus*, July 15-22.

³ Thurloe, vii. 198, 206.

⁴ *Ib.* vii. 198.

soldiers together and reproved them, saying that 'it was ill done to come unto the Romish churches; and if they would needs satisfy their curiosity, it was fit to come so as they should not give disturbance to others in that which they imagined to be their devotion.'¹

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Dunkirk contained about fifty nuns and as many friars, besides the secular clergy attached to the parish church. The nuns gave no trouble. Lockhart contracted with them to nurse his wounded soldiers—one nun was to look after eight soldiers—and to provide them with bread and clean linen. But he had 700 sick and wounded; and, since the nuns proved unable to fulfil their contract, he was obliged to establish eight regimental hospitals for the purpose.²

The friars gave little trouble till the imposition of the oath of allegiance to the Protector. They then objected to the obligation to reveal any plots that should come to their knowledge, urging their oath of secrecy as to matters revealed to them in the confessional. Lockhart argued with them in vain; in the end they asked for time to consult their superiors on the subject, and there is nothing to show how the question was settled.³

In spite of all his care to conciliate the clergy, Lockhart had little hope of succeeding. 'The ecclesiastics here,' he wrote, 'do find so little of that ill treatment, which the Spaniards threatened them with, as they pretend they are well satisfied with us, and say we use them better than either the Spaniards or French did, which probably is true. But all that's done for them is like washing of the blackamoor, for their hearts cannot be gained; and what is done for them is rather to

¹ Thurloe, vii. 178, 187, 197.

² Ib. vii. 179, 186.

³ Ib. vii. 305.

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satisfy others than out of any hopes to do good upon them.' ¹ His secret hope was to get rid of them peaceably—by their voluntary emigration. When he was told that the Spaniards were plotting to get all the ecclesiastics to leave Dunkirk, he said he should pray for the success of their plot. ²

To the Protector he expressed the view that the clause in the treaty which made the rights of the clergy dependent on their not conspiring against the government, would give a fair opportunity of expelling some of them before many weeks went by. ³

In England, meanwhile, some Puritans were complaining to the Protector of Lockhart's want of zeal for Protestantism, and his too great favour to Catholicism. He answered his critics by showing that he had merely carried out the obligations imposed by the treaty with France. ⁴ The progress of Protestantism in Flanders must be slow. 'As Rome was not built in one day, so it would not be pulled down in one day.' In reality Lockhart was full of zeal. He hoped in time to populate Dunkirk with Protestants, either foreign or English. 'If any English family will transport themselves here,' he announced, 'provided they bring with them a line from my lord Thurloe, mentioning their fidelity and affection to your Highness' government, I shall see them settled and serve them faithfully.' Some Huguenots in Picardy applied to him for leave to settle in Dunkirk, but he advised them to be very careful to 'put their persons and estates in some security' before their intention of removing became known. ⁵ The French government might object to the emigration of its subjects, and it

¹ Thurloe, vii. 178.

³ Ib. vii. 197.

² Ib. vii. 208.

⁴ Ib. vii. 197, 206.

⁵ Ib. vii. 198.

seemed safer to encourage Flemish Protestants. Lockhart had heard that there were some Protestant Flemings 'who would shortly make public profession of that truth they have hitherto out of fear concealed,' and that there was a Flemish minister who sometimes preached and administered the sacraments by night. He hoped to persuade this man to remove to Dunkirk, 'for besides that he might procure me a good correspondence with the Protestants in the country, I would make him preach once or twice in Dutch, which I hope may have good effect among the inhabitants.' He further proposed that a general subscription should be made in England, 'for the relief of the poor oppressed Protestants in Flanders,' like that lately made for the Vaudois. The money raised might be partly spent in assisting the removal of these sufferers for the faith to Dunkirk, and partly in building churches for them in the town.¹

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The want of a church was at the moment one of the chief obstacles to the public propagation of Protestantism in Dunkirk. There was but one parish church in the town; and though zealots in England expected Lockhart to take possession of it,² such a course would be contrary both to the terms of the treaty with France and to sound policy. Pending the erection of a new church he took possession of the town hall, which contained a room about the size of the chapel at Whitehall, and had a great porch opening upon the market-place. All it needed to make it fit for a Protestant place of worship was a pulpit, which the magistrates of Dunkirk were ordered to place there.³ There was, however, a great

¹ Thurloe, vii. 215, 216.

² For instance, Donald Lupton, in *Flanders, or an exact compendium of that fair, great, and fat country*, 4to, 1658, says of Dunkirk: 'The great church is fair in building, and will be fairer when as popish superstition is removed, and the gospel preached in its vigour, zeal, and purity, which is already begun.'

³ Thurloe, vii. 197, 215.

CHAP. lack of preachers. When the campaign began there was
 XV not a single regimental chaplain with the army, and
 1658 Mr. Fuller, Lockhart's own chaplain, was called home
 at the beginning of July. Moreover, the propagation of
 Protestantism in Flanders demanded ministers of greater
 ability than the average military chaplain. It was
 necessary, Lockhart wrote, 'to have men of extra-
 ordinary talents in this place, who by their conversa-
 tion, doctrine, and learning too, may be able to prevail
 against adversaries, that victory may not only be
 obtained over their persons but also over their errors.'¹
 In answer to this appeal Hugh Peters was sent over.
 'He gave us two or three very honest sermons,'
 reported Lockhart, 'and if it were possible to get
 him to mind preaching, and to forbear troubling
 himself with other things, he would certainly prove
 a very fit minister for soldiers.' Peters hinted that
 he would be willing to stay permanently in Dunkirk,
 if he had a call; but Lockhart, who could not tolerate
 a busybody, took care that no call came. Quieter if
 less notable ministers were sent later.²

The transformation of Dunkirk into something like
 an English town was steadily pursued. Lockhart
 removed the little images of Notre Dame that were
 over the gates, and set up the Protector's arms in their
 place.³ The keeping of the Sabbath was rigidly en-
 joined on all the inhabitants of the town, and penalties
 for the non-observance of Saints' days were abolished.
 'Your Lordship,' he told Thurloe, 'would have admired
 to see the posture this town was in the last lords-day,
 not a shop open, not anything undecent that was to
 be seen.' Priests and bigots complained, but the
 magistrates raised no objections, and the citizens showed

¹ Thurloe, vii. 125, 205, 223.

² *Ib.* vii. 223, 249.

³ *Ib.* vii. 215.

no signs of discontent. According to Lockhart the Flemings seemed likely to make good British subjects. 'The temper of the generality of the people here is douce and tractable. I am confident a hundred French would be more unquiet and unmanageable than the whole body of this town.'¹ This passive acceptance of the new government was the more important since it seemed possible that the narrow limits of the English possessions in Flanders might be further extended by some fresh acquisition. About the close of July the Cardinal suggested to Lockhart an extension of the league between England and France, intimating that Ostend might perhaps be the price of further assistance. Whether this suggestion ever became a positive proposal seems doubtful. Lockhart pressed for leave to negotiate further on the question, and felt sure of carrying it to a successful conclusion.²

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It seems probable that Cromwell would have welcomed Mazarin's overture. To the Protector the possession of 'a good and secure footing on the continent' which Dunkirk gave him was but the basis of greater schemes. The possession of Dunkirk secured certain solid material advantages. He need no longer

¹ Thurloe, vii. 215.

² The evidence for this is a letter from Lockhart relating a conversation with Mazarin. 'He told me,' writes Lockhart, 'that he hoped ere long to close a treaty with me that would be no less honourable for his Highness than that of Dunkirk had been, and hinted at something touching Ostend. . . . I durst undertake through the Lord's assistance to bring him to agree upon reasonable terms, if the particulars for the general peace have not got a better interest with him than I can yet believe they have' (Thurloe vii. 279). This interview was on July $\frac{16}{26}$. Lockhart's letters are incomplete, and Thurloe's answer has not survived. But Thurloe, in his account of Cromwell's foreign relations, says: 'After that Dunkirk was delivered to the English, propositions passed between France and England touching the besieging of Ostend with conjoined forces and putting it likewise into English hands; but this came to nothing by reason of the old Protector's death.' Bischoffshausen, *Die Politik des Protector's Oliver Cromwell*, 1899, p. 209. There is no trace of this negotiation in Mazarin's letters.

CHAP. fear an invasion from abroad in the interests of Charles
 { XV
 1658 II. The Spaniards would be obliged to keep their
 troops in Flanders, and the remnant of Charles II's
 troops too. English shipping also would be freed from
 the depredations of Flemish corsairs.

The wider prospects which these new acquisitions opened to the Protector were still more alluring. These Flemish ports, in the opinion of English politicians, would make him the arbiter of Europe. 'Having these places of strength in his hand,' said Thurloe, 'he carried the keys of the continent at his girdle, and was able to make invasions thereupon, and let in armies and forces upon it at his pleasure.'¹ Lockhart was equally enthusiastic about the value of Dunkirk. 'It is not only an excellent outwork for the defence of England, but a sally-port by which his Highness may advantageously sally forth upon his enemies, as often as he shall see occasion for it.'² The soldiers who garrisoned the town had a similar conception of its importance. 'This place,' wrote a couple of colonels in 1659, 'our ambition and desire is to perpetuate to this nation, as a goad in the sides of their enemies, and to secure our footing in the continent of Europe lost ever since Queen Mary's days.'³

The military potentialities of Dunkirk enhanced its political value. This 'footing in the continent' would increase the weight of English diplomacy in European politics and give the Protector power to put pressure on his allies. The French, said Thurloe, would not henceforth 'think it safe to undertake any great designs without having a perfect understanding with [the Protector] herein; because they left a back door behind them in Flanders,

¹ Bischoffshausen, p. 205.

² Thurloe, vi. 853. March 7-17, 1658.

³ Ib. vii. 729.

which might be made use of to the overthrow of France whilst they were engaged elsewhere.’¹ Furthermore, since the possession of Dunkirk as well as Dover would give England the complete control of the Channel, the Dutch would find ‘the good will and favour of the English’ indispensable to the preservation of their trade. This would make them more yielding about questions of maritime right, and in all those European disputes when the interests of England and Holland clashed. As Thurloe said, ‘an English interest in Flanders’ would serve as ‘a bridle to the Dutch.’²

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All the influence which the Flemish possessions of England gave him Cromwell intended to exercise, not merely in favour of national interests, but for religious interests. Like Lockhart, he hoped that the English occupation of Dunkirk would lead to a revival of Protestantism in Flanders. ‘He conceived that under that countenance and protection many of the people of Flanders and those parts kept under [by] the Spanish severity might declare themselves Protestant, and several of the great towns be induced to throw [off] the Spanish yoke, whereto they showed themselves disposed enough in that little time when Dunkirk was in the English hands.’³ In France also the Huguenots, ‘having so powerful a friend their neighbours on the same continent,’ would feel a new sense of security. Ever since he became Protector, and indeed even earlier, Cromwell had made the cause of French Protestantism his constant care. In his proposals for a treaty with France in 1654 he had endeavoured, though vainly, to

¹ Bischoffshausen, p. 205.

² Ib. p. 207. ‘Sie fürchten einen zweiten Sund zwischen den Niederlanden und England,’ wrote the Elector of Brandenburg’s agent at the Hague in December, 1657. *Urkunden und Actenstücke*, vii. 111. On the importance of Dunkirk in general, see Michael’s *Cromwell*, ii. 147.

³ Bischoffshausen, p. 207.

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be acknowledged as the guardian of their rights.¹ Lockhart, when he became Cromwell's ambassador at Paris, found himself continually approached on their behalf. 'Their eyes,' he reported, 'are much upon the Protector; he is privately prayed for in all their churches.'² In many cases Lockhart's intercession procured redress for individuals who had suffered wrong, but he wisely refrained from general complaints about the non-execution of the Edict of Nantes. It would be 'more or less favourably construed,' he said, 'as the Protestants are found more or less considerable in the balance of affairs.'³ The alliance between England and France necessitated more respect for their rights, but tradition has exaggerated the yieldingness of Mazarin and the imperiousness of Cromwell. Clarendon relates the Protector's intervention on behalf of the Protestants of Nîmes, which is said to have saved their leaders from forfeiture and execution, and prevented the destruction of their churches. 'Nobody,' he concludes, 'can wonder that his name remains still in those parts, and with those people in great veneration.' But the details of this intervention are unknown, and even the fact rests on dubious authority.⁴

! On the other hand it is certain that the Protector

¹ Chéruel, *Ministère de Mazarin*, ii. 381, 388; Gardiner, ii. 470.

² Thurloe, v. 202.

³ *Ib.* vi. 488.

⁴ From French accounts it appears that there was an *émeute* at Nîmes over the election of magistrates in December, 1657. It was not religious in its origin, though the Protestants took part in it, and some incurred punishment for it. *Mémoires de M. le Marquis de Chouppes*, 1861, pp. 192, 226, 231, 236; *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 312, 665, 667, 675. Lockhart refers to the affair in one of his letters (Thurloe, vi. 727), but makes no reference to any intervention of his own or the Protector's. The story first appears in Skippon's *Travels* in 1661 (reprinted in Churchill's *Voyages*, vi. 733); it is told next by Clarendon about 1670 (*Rebellion*, xv. 154); finally it is repeated by Burnet (*Own Time*, ed. Airy, i. 138).

took up the cause of the Vaudois with renewed energy in 1658. Lockhart had been instructed to represent their 'sad and miserable condition' to the French government in April, 1656, and again in December, 1657.¹ On May 26, 1658, Cromwell, in the last of his letters which has survived, bade Lockhart press the French king to act vigorously on their behalf, and proposed an exchange of territory between France and Savoy which would have made them French subjects.² He wrote at the same time to the Protestant cantons of Switzerland; but it was throughout to the influence France could exert upon Savoy that he appealed as the most effective instrument for securing the fulfilment of his aims.

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Like Cromwell, Mazarin endeavoured to utilise the alliance between their two nations for the benefit of his co-religionists. Lockhart was not more insistent on behalf of the French Protestants than Bordeaux was on behalf of the English Catholics. The latter was repeatedly ordered by the Cardinal to exert all the influence of France in their favour, and he faithfully carried out his instructions.³ 'Redouble your appeals to the Protector on behalf of the Catholics,' wrote Mazarin to Bordeaux on December 13, 1657. 'Tell him from me that it is not merely the zeal which I ought to have, being what I am, that makes me write thus to you about it; but the fact that the ill-treatment of the Catholics in England, at a time when France and England are so closely united, gives occasion to many people to speak against me, judging thereby what prejudice to our religion is to be feared from the establishment of the English in Flanders; and how much it

¹ Lockhart's instructions are printed in the *English Historical Review*, 1906, p. 745. See also Thurloe, vi. 647, 695.

² Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter cccxv; Masson, *Life of Milton*, v. 387-90.

³ *Lettres de Mazarin*, vii. 451, 715; viii. 236, 661. Thurloe, vi. 482.

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harms me in the opinion of the world. The result may be detrimental to his political interests.’¹

Mazarin’s pressure effected the release of many imprisoned priests both in England and Ireland, and some mitigation of the penal laws in practice, though no legal alteration in the position of the Catholics followed. Thus on both sides of the Channel the Anglo-French alliance worked in favour of toleration.

To the Cardinal, however, toleration was only a side issue. His motives throughout were political, not religious. He utilised his alliance with England to obtain advantages for his creed, just as he had utilised it to support his diplomacy or to facilitate his military operations. In the spring of 1657, when France quarrelled with the Dutch, he offered to accept Cromwell as arbitrator in the quarrel, and negotiated for the assistance of the English fleet if it came to blows.² He secured the support of England in his attempts to patch up a peace between Portugal and the Dutch.³ He obtained, during the summer of 1658, the services of a small English squadron in the Mediterranean to support an intended attack on the Spaniards on the coast of Tuscany.⁴

¹ *Lettres*, viii. 236. Mazarin’s words are: ‘Je vous prie de redoubler vos instances auprez de M. le Protecteur en faveur des Catholiques, et de lui dire confidemment de ma part, que ce n’est pas seulement le zèle que je dois avoir, estant que je suis, qui me fait vous en escrire ainsi, mais c’est aussy qu’effectivement le mauvais traitement des Catholiques en Angleterre, dans le temps que la France et l’Angleterre sont si unies, donne sujet a beaucoup de gens de parler contre moi, faisant juger par là quels préjudices on ne doit pas craindre pour la religion, les Anglais s’establiissant en Flandre, et quel est le tort que cela me fait dans le monde. Il en peut arriver des inconveniens dans la poltique pour ses interests.’

² *Lettres de Mazarin*, vii. 452, 463, 467; Thurloe, vi. 171, 209, 261, 273, 88, 298, 303, 311, 347; Chéruel, *Ministère de Mazarin*, iii. 58.

³ *Lettres de Mazarin*, vii. 455; viii. 274, 311. Thurloe, vi. 695. Molsbergen, p. 178.

⁴ Thurloe, vi. 855; vii. 24, 70, 157, 189, 202, 212, 251. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*, i. 336-9.

But while he grasped at all the advantages which the English alliance was capable of ensuring he never lost sight of its essential object. Vague and grandiose schemes of policy had no attraction for him. The league between France, England, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, which Thurloe proposed to him on behalf of Cromwell in December, 1656, and the triple league between England, France, and Holland, which the Dutch proposed in July, 1657, he evaded or put aside.¹

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Mazarin had allied himself with Cromwell for a definite and simple purpose. 'Nothing I have achieved,' he wrote, 'is of any worth, but it is something to have known how to prevent the alliance between our enemies and England which was about to come into being, and to have persuaded England to ally herself with us against them.'² On the alliance with England he set great value. It was capable, he told Cromwell after the victory of the Dunes, of bringing even greater advantages to the two nations, by constraining the Spaniards to give them a good peace as the best way of preventing further losses.³ That end was now in sight.

Spain was so weakened by her defeats in the campaign of 1658 that she would be compelled to make terms with France. She would be obliged to make terms with England too, and to accept the loss of Dunkirk and Jamaica, if Cromwell utilised the opportunity. But, while Mazarin had attained through the Anglo-French alliance all that he sought, Cromwell had merely laid the foundation for larger projects, which were not likely to be ever realised.

¹ Chéruel, *Ministère de Mazarin*, iii. 9, 37, 40; cf. ii. 389. *Lettres de Mazarin*, vii. 435; viii. 82.

² *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 252; cf. Bourelly, p. 634

³ *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 430, 466.

CHAPTER XVI

SWEDEN AND GERMANY

CHAP. ^{XVI} WHILE the arms of the Protector were successful in
1657-8 Flanders, his diplomacy was a failure alike in Sweden and Germany. For a moment success crowned the efforts of his ambassadors, but the policy which dictated those efforts was too little in accordance with the actual conditions of the time to achieve substantial results.

In the month of January, 1658, a sudden change took place in the situation of affairs in northern Europe. The 'poor prince,' whose impending ruin Cromwell had fearfully anticipated, rescued himself from impending disaster by one skilful and daring stroke. When Charles X found that the armed assistance of England was not to be hoped, and that the diplomatic mediation of England was ineffective, he resolved to oblige Denmark to make peace by force of arms. Jutland was his own, but the sea defended the Danish islands from attack and secured Copenhagen. The Danish fleet was stronger than that of the Swedes; and after a sea-fight on September 12-13, in which the Danes had the upper hand, the fleet of Charles X had withdrawn to Wisby (October, 1657). Nevertheless, after the fall of Fredriksodde, Charles X boldly prepared to transport his forces from Jutland into the island of Funen, where the King of Denmark was striving to reassemble his shattered forces. Funen is separated from Jutland by the narrow channel known as the Little Belt, and from

Zeeland by the broad arm of the sea called the Great Belt. In December, when the Little Belt began to freeze, the bold design of marching his army across the ice took shape in the mind of the King of Sweden. Peasants and fishermen often crossed that way; why should not soldiers venture? A thaw prevented the attempt in December, but about the end of January, 1658, a bitter wind blew from the east, and hard ice, fit to bear horses and marching men, stretched from shore to shore. On January 30, with an army of 9000 horse and 3000 foot, Charles marched across the ice, defeated a Danish force on the shore of Funen, and made himself within twenty-four hours master of the whole island.¹ The most difficult part of the King's task remained behind. The shortest and directest way from Funen to Zeeland was across the broad expanse of the Great Belt from Nyborg to Korsör, but its length made it dangerous. The King preferred to adopt a more circuitous and safer route starting from Stendborg, in the south of Funen, and passing over the four small islands of Taasinge, Langeland, Laaland, and Falster to the southern point of Zeeland. The narrow straits which separated these islands from each other were more likely to be firmly frozen and the islands themselves would afford safe resting-places for his troops on their journey. This second march began on February 5, and on the 11th Charles X set foot on the shore of Zeeland, followed by some 6000 men. The King was full of confidence and talked of annihilating Denmark. 'No one,' he wrote during his march to his ambassador in England, 'no one, excepting perhaps Holland, can prevent me from maintaining these conquests. If the Protector will help me now with ships and soldiers I will immediately cede him Buxtehude and Leheschanze. If

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¹ Carlson, *Geschichte Schwedens*, i. 254; Terlon, *Mémoires*, p. 85.

CHAP. I get possession of all Denmark and Norway, I will cede
 XVI him all Bremen, and grant England the free passage of
 1658 the Sound.’¹ Instead of peace he dreamt only of the aggrandisement of Sweden.

Meanwhile in the Danish camp the advance of the King of Sweden had brought an immediate change of counsels. The news of the loss of Funen put an end at once to the quibbles and subterfuges of Danish diplomacy. As soon as he heard of it the King of Denmark sent in haste to Philip Meadowe, begging him to renew the proposal for a separate treaty, and to set it on foot with all possible expedition. Meadowe wrote at once to the King of Sweden, asking him to appoint a meeting-place for the commissioners of the two states under the mediation of the envoys of England and France (February 3). Charles promptly accepted the proposed treaty, but refused the cessation of hostilities asked for, and continued his march from Funen to Zeeland. Meadowe met Charles on February 11, immediately after the landing in Zeeland, and prayed once more for a suspension of arms, but in vain. ‘The King,’ wrote Meadowe to Thurloe, ‘was very pleasant, but resolved withal; God had shown him the way, he told me, and built him a bridge, and he could do no less than go over. He told me laughingly, he little expected to meet me upon the way. I answered I less expected to meet him in an enemy’s country at the head of two hundred horse.’² The next day the treaty began at Wordingborg. The Danish commissioners submitted draft articles, and the Swedish did the like. One asked far too much, the other conceded far too little. On this the mediators, Meadowe and Terlon, the French ambassador, who had accompanied

¹ Carlson, *Geschichte Schwedens*, i. 263–70; Meadowe, pp. 3–37, 43; Terlon, p. 95; Pufendorff, v. 73. See also Michael’s *Cromwell*, ii. 171.

² Thurloe, vi. 802.

the Swedish King in his perilous journey, drew up a third project, as a compromise between the two, and pressed the negotiators to accept it. Still the Danes hesitated. Meanwhile Charles X, with six or seven thousand men, advanced by great marches upon Copenhagen. The city was badly fortified and worse provisioned; it was full of people, but the garrison was weak, and armed burghers could scarcely defend its crumbling walls against the trained veterans of Sweden. It might be possible to hold out for a short time, but it would be months before the allies of the Danish King could come to his rescue. The Poles and the Brandenburgers were far remote; the frozen waters which had served as a bridge to the Swedes were an insuperable bar to the Dutch warships. The English envoy thought resistance hopeless. 'Unless I make a peace, adieu Denmark,' was his summary of the situation. On the 15th, the headquarters of the Swedes were within a mile and a half of Copenhagen. Yielding to necessity the Danish King accepted the heads of a treaty on the 17th, and peace was signed on the 27th.¹

The treaty of Roeskilde was a remarkable achievement for the English diplomatist. His task was extremely difficult. He had to moderate the demands of the Swedes on behalf of Denmark, without showing any such partiality as to disoblige the Swedes. He had to watch vigilantly lest anything should be inserted in the stipulations of the treaty which might be prejudicial to English interests. On several points he succeeded

¹ Carlson, pp. 260-74; Meadowe, *Narrative of the Principal Actions occurring on the Wars between Sweden and Denmark*, 1677, pp. 37-56; Thurloe, vi. 802-38. Unfortunately several of Meadowe's letters on the history of the treaty are missing. Terlon, *Mémoires*, 1682, pp. 95, 100-10, gives a very vague account of the negotiations.

The treaty, says Meadowe, though begun at Wordingborg, and agreed at Tostrup, was denominated the Roschild Treaty because it was fully concluded at Roeskilde, or Roschild as the English called it.

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in modifying its terms. At first Charles X demanded the whole of Norway ; but he finally contented himself with the two governments of Drontheim and Bohus Lehen. The proposal to annex the whole of Norway prejudiced England ‘ as giving the Swede the whole and entire possession of the chief materials, as masts, deals, pitch, tar, copper, and iron, needful for the apparel and equipage of our ships, too great a treasure to be entrusted in one hand.’¹ The cession of Scania, Blekinge, and Halland by the Danes gave Sweden its natural boundary on the south, and was the one permanent result of the wars of Charles X. Though the passage duty was reserved to the Danes, the control of the Sound was now divided, Sweden being master of one bank, Denmark of the other. ‘ Thus,’ said Meadowe, ‘ the power over that narrow entry into the Baltic being balanced between two emulous crowns, will be an effectual prevention of any new exactions or usurpations in the Sound.’²

Other articles determined the relations of the contracting powers to their allies. The bond between Denmark and its allies was broken. Each contracting party promised to renounce all alliances hostile to the other ; and neither was to enter into any such in future, or under any pretext to assist the enemies of the other. Finally, the Sound was to be closed by both to any hostile fleet. At first an article had been framed obliging both Kings to hinder the passage of any foreign fleet of war into the Baltic. This, ‘ though directly and immediately levelled against Holland, yet obliquely and remotely reflected upon England, with which the English mediator not being satisfied, caused the word *inimica* to be inserted ; and then the sense was this, that both Kings to their power should

¹ Meadowe, p. 59.

² *Ib.* p. 60.

endeavour to impede the passage of any foreign fleet of war enemy of both crowns. By which the edge of the article was rebated, and the King of Sweden displeased thereat after acquiesced.' ¹

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It still remained to adjust the terms of the treaty between the Duke of Holstein (the father-in-law and ally of Charles X) and the King of Denmark. In this, too, the mediation of the English envoy was again employed; and the question of the indemnity to be given to the Duke by the Danes was satisfactorily settled by a separate treaty.²

For the moment both Sweden and Denmark seemed satisfied with Meadowe. Frederick III made him a knight of the order of the Elephant, and also offered him a pension, which he declined. The King of Sweden seemed grateful too, but nevertheless the expected agreement between England and Sweden was not made. Jephson found his negotiations at a standstill. He told Thurloe on March 6, that he supposed that the late success of the King of Sweden would make him less anxious to treat further with the Protector. 'Unless,' said he, 'he have any hopes that the Protector would aid him without a consideration of security, which for ought I could ever see, though the contrary was pretended, he was in his greatest extremity very unwilling to give.'³ As it was, though Jephson had long since delivered to the King's secretary the draft or 'concept' of the intended Protestant league which Thurloe had sent him in December, he could obtain no answer to it.⁴ On March 15 he was still without an answer, and could not tell whether the

¹ Meadowe, p. 62; Thurloe, vii. 212, 245; Carlson, p. 274.

² Thurloe, vi. 851; *English Historical Review*, vii. 729-31; Meadowe, p. 67.

³ Thurloe, vi. 848.

⁴ This 'concept' does not appear to be extant. It was probably an earlier version of the propositions printed in Thurloe, vii. 23, and there dated March 25, 1658. See Pufendorff, iv. 84, Guernsey Jones, p. 63, and Bowman, p. 70.

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King would make peace with Austria or not. He did not know what to make of the position of affairs. 'But certainly,' he said, 'if the Swede hath any inclination to a particular conjunction with you, and a general league of the Protestant, there is now a great opportunity to force the States General to join us, or exclude them from the Baltic sea.'¹

The reason why the King of Sweden gave no answer to Jephson's proposals was that he preferred to negotiate directly with Cromwell through his ambassadors in England. The question of the Protestant league was the subject of long debates during February, 1658.² In a letter written on March 26 Thurloe explained the course of the negotiations to Jephson: 'As for the conditions of the treaty which you delivered him, if it be not agreeable to his mind, I mean in the way and method it is put, as possible it is not, we should be glad to know what he doth desire. His ministers here propound things almost impossible for us to do, as that his Highness should land an army in Westphalia, and pay him a certain sum of money for his carrying on a war with the King of Hungary in Germany, with some other things as hard as these; without being instructed, for aught I perceive, to agree to anything that hath a reciprocation in it, or may be for the interest of this state either in trade or otherwise. His Highness is willing to join with him in the league against the House of Austria and Spain, and to give him the best assistance he is able, so as the assistance and advantage may be mutual, and also to draw in other Princes and States of the Protestant party, the way whereof is fit to be discussed by him at large, and which would be a proper way to bring the States into the league.' Above all things it

¹ Thurloe, vii. 1.

² Pufendorff, v. 74, 75.

was necessary to know the mind of the King. What were his intentions towards the Dutch, and did he mean to come to terms with them? Did he mean to come to terms with Poland, and to separate Poland from Austria, 'with a mind to carry his arms into Germany?' If so Cromwell would do all he could to further his design, and would interpose as mediator if desired.¹

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As Jephson asked to be recalled, Meadowe was sent to succeed him with the Swedish King.²

Like Jephson, Meadowe was hampered throughout his negotiation with Sweden by the fact that Cromwell had failed to keep his pecuniary engagements to Charles X. In his letters he repeatedly insisted on the necessity of the payment, if not of the £30,000 once promised, at least of half that sum. Now that the King was about to begin a new campaign he was in great want of money. 'It would never be more serviceable than now (June). If his Highness conceive it his interest to cherish and maintain a hearty friendship with his Majesty, something of this nature must be done; especially after so many overtures and promises made, as is pretended to me, the disappointment whereof I can assure your honour begets discontents and distrusts in the Swedish court.'³ Without this, he said in a second letter, 'my negotiation will avail nothing.'

'The levies of England which are sent over hither signify little; they find not things answer promise or expectation, which makes them mutiny or run away, to the dishonour of our nation; the other way of supply will be far more beneficial and obliging to that King.'⁴

Meadowe was clearly right in his conclusions, but the poverty of the Protector's exchequer made it

¹ Thurloe to Jephson, March 26, 1658. *English Historical Review*, vii. 728.

² Instructions dated April 9, 1658. Thurloe, vii. 63.

³ Meadowe to Thurloe, June 15, 1658. *English Historical Review*, vii. 734, 735.

⁴ Meadowe to Thurloe, June 29, 1658. *English Historical Review*, vii. 737.

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impossible to adopt them. In an interview with the Swedish ambassadors in England on April 30, 1658, Thurloe explained to them that in the present condition of affairs at home it was impossible for the Protector to carry out his intentions. To this Cromwell himself added that the interests of no prince in the world were dearer to him than those of the King of Sweden, and that he would willingly and heartily give him all the support he could when his own affairs were in a better condition. For the present the threatened invasion of the King of Scots, and the domestic conspiracy connected with it, had hindered the fulfilment of his good intentions. But that very morning he had definitely decided on the calling of a new Parliament; and if that succeeded as well as it seemed likely to do, he hoped to be able to assist the King according to his wish.¹

Charles X realised to some extent the difficulty of Cromwell's position. In the deliberations of the Swedish Council on April 13, 1658, the following question was raised. If the Protector should be hard pressed by the Stuart House or by Parliament, was he to be helped by Sweden? The Council decided that in such a case three or four thousand men might be put at his disposal, because the King of Sweden in like need was entitled to expect similar help from the Protector in Bremen or elsewhere, and because the House of Stuart had always acted against the interests of Sweden.²

Besides this the reports of the King of Sweden's ambassadors in England had prepared him for the disappointment of his hopes. When Meadowe by Thurloe's order explained to the King the Protector's incapacity to pay the promised subsidy at present, the King received his excuses well. Meadowe excused the

¹ Pufendorff, v. 77; Bowman, p. 68.

² Carlson, i. 289.

non-payment on the ground that Parliament had been dissolved before provision was made for the supply of the Protector's treasury. In his reply Charles plainly hinted that if Cromwell would accept the title of King, his difficulties with Parliament would be over. 'He wondered,' he said, 'that so prudent and experienced a prince took no more effectual care to extricate himself out of those necessities; and that he who had achieved so many brave actions, though accompanied with manifold dangers, should now at last scruple that which would be his best and most valuable security.'¹

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The breakdown of the treaty of alliance between England and Sweden involved the failure of the scheme for a Protestant league against Austria and Spain. This is made plain in Jephson's account of his last interview with the ministers of the King of Sweden, in which the history of his mission is summed up. He complained that, during the whole period of his stay at the Swedish court, no proposal for a stricter alliance had been made to him by the King's ministers; they replied that they had expected the proposition to come from him. He answered that, as it was the Swedish government which was asking for assistance, it ought naturally to have stated the conditions upon which it expected to get the help it desired. The Swedish ambassadors in England had asked a great deal but had offered no reciprocal advantages to England. Yet without some such advantages in view no state would ever engage itself in a costly and dangerous war; 'nor was it possible for his Highness to persuade the commonwealth to such an undertaking without being able to hold forth some probability of public benefit.' They urged in reply the interests of the Protestant

¹ Meadowe to Thurloe, July 12, 1658. *English Historical Review*, vii. 738, 740.

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religion, and the benefit to be obtained by diverting the forces of the House of Austria. Jephson retorted, with a sudden flash of common sense, that as for religion, 'since the Protestant princes of Germany did not think fit to join themselves to the King of Sweden upon that account, that alone could not be thought a sufficient motive for his Highness so to do.' As for the House of Austria, 'we do not now (blessed be God) think ourselves much in danger from thence; but if we were, there was yet no assurance given but that the King of Sweden might make peace with them the next day after he received the assistance desired.'¹

These objections were very reasonable, but they came rather late in the day. They were fundamental objections to the policy which the Protector had adopted and sent Jephson to Germany to carry out. It was certain from the beginning that the Protestant princes of Germany had not any intention of adopting the King of Sweden as their leader. Their hostility to him had increased rather than diminished since 1655; for the selfish ambition which was his sole motive had made itself more and more apparent with each succeeding year. It was also certain that hostility to the Austrian power was not one of the principles upon which his policy was based, but the result of a temporary clash of interests. Charles was perfectly ready to make peace with Austria, if she would separate her cause from that of Poland and Brandenburg and Denmark. In a letter to one of his confidants written in November, 1657, he stated his position plainly. 'I have no quarrel with Austria,' he wrote, 'I demand no conquests in Germany, and can get no profit from a war in Germany except bodily exercise.'² The power

¹ Jephson to Thurloe, July 3, 1658. Thurloe, vii. 225.

² Carlson, i. 256.

which to Cromwell was an essential branch of the Anti-christian interest in Europe was to the Swede merely an accidental enemy.

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While these futile negotiations for an alliance between England and Sweden, and for the ultimate formation of a Protestant league were in progress, the task of English diplomacy in other parts of Europe was to endeavour to remove the existing causes of difference between Protestant states, and other obstacles to the desired union.

With that view, as we have seen, George Downing had been sent to Holland in January, 1658. He was specially charged to negotiate some agreement between England and the United Provinces as to the Baltic question; but the strained relations between England and the Dutch upon other questions were an almost insuperable difficulty. The first obstacle was the Portuguese question. The long-standing quarrel over the possession of Brazil culminated, in 1657, in open hostilities between the two states and in a formal declaration of war. At the beginning of November, De Ruyter captured some fifteen of the forty vessels composing the sugar fleet from Brazil; and in the spring of 1658 the States resolved to send a still stronger fleet to Portuguese waters. The ambassadors of England and France both endeavoured to mediate, regarding Portugal as a valuable ally against Spain, and fearing to see her weakened. The Dutch accepted the mediation tendered by Downing and De Thou, but declined to grant the suspension of hostilities for which they asked.¹ In March, Thurloe instructed Downing not to press the question of the truce further; for it was best for the interests of England that the Dutch fleet should

¹ Thurloe, vi. 759; *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 311; Wicquefort, *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, ii. 480, 561.

CHAP. be occupied in Portuguese waters, rather than free
 XVI to be sent to the Baltic.¹
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For the moment the Baltic question was the more important of the two. The Dutch were extremely dissatisfied with the treaty of Roeskilde. By giving Sweden power to close the Sound to all hostile fleets it left Charles X free to prosecute his design against Dantzic and the Prussian ports, and free to burden Dutch trade by any exactions he thought fit. Van Beuninghen, the Dutch ambassador in Denmark, who was held one of the instigators of the Danish declaration of war, having failed to hinder the conclusion of the treaty, was reported to be doing all he could to revive the war. It seemed likely that the Dutch would either send a fleet to the Baltic to support Denmark, or else make terms with Sweden in order to obtain special advantages for their Baltic trade.² Cromwell had protested that he sought no special favours for English commerce from the Swedes, but felt no confidence that our rivals were equally disinterested.³ Uncertainty about the Baltic policy of the Dutch prevented the acceptance of the proposal for a defensive treaty between England, Holland, and France, which De Witt put forward. It must be thought over, answered Thurloe. 'You may carry it as if this state were inclined to it, and so it may upon the matter, if considered; but surely our present business is to pause a little to see how they will serve us in the matters of the East Sea. Be very careful that you do not oblige yourself to anything about trade in those parts, whether in general or particular terms.'⁴

Disputes about prizes further embittered the relations of the two states. 'They do in everything carry

¹ Thurloe, vii. 31, 49.

³ Ib. vi. 790, 874.

² Ib. vi. 872.

⁴ Ib. vi. 851, 873.

themselves as if they sought an occasion of quarrel,' complained Thurloe, when the Dutch refused a demand made by Downing for the punishment of some offending captains. Worst of all was their underhand assistance to Spain. 'Their helping the Spaniards, as they do upon all occasions, is of greater consequence by far; and the answers they give us are worse than the things, which shows they will neither do right in what is past, nor give hope of redress for the future.'¹ The seizure of some English ships at Bantam by the Dutch East India Company added fresh fuel to the fire. The merchants who owned them protested that they were peaceable traders; the Dutch declared that they had furnished gunners and war materials to a native state at war with Holland.² Nieupoort, the Dutch ambassador, who had been paying a visit to his country, returned to England at the close of July to settle the matter. 'He comes with very sweet words in his mouth,' wrote Thurloe to Downing, 'but I believe that neither his Highness nor the merchants will be satisfied with words for their carriage in the East Indies, where they make nothing of declaring enmity against our men, taking their ships, and imprisoning their persons; and if very good satisfaction be not given here for those things, it will very much shake the peace between the two states.'³ Downing pressed the matter home at the Hague. 'I told them plainly that they can hardly expect much from his Highness in relation to the Baltic, unless we have first satisfaction in relation to wrongs done in the East Indies.'⁴

Either this consideration or the danger of war made the Dutch more yielding, and on August 6 the Dutch

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¹ Thurloe, vii. 63. April 9, 1658. Cf. p. 149.

² Ib. vii. 91. Wicquefort, *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, ii. 522, 558.

³ Ib. vii. 295.

⁴ Ib. vii. 270.

CHAP. government resolved to restore the ships and goods
 XVI taken at Bantam. 'Never in my life,' wrote Downing,
 1658 'did I put further, nor yet was more put to it in a
 business. De Witt and I were once going to fight in his
 house about them, so high were we both, and so hard it
 was to do anything in this kind, especially in the East
 Indies. The directors of the East India Company de-
 clared plainly that it were much better to have a
 war with England than to restore those ships, and are
 returned to Amsterdam in great rage.'¹ Downing
 concluded by saying that he was extremely obliged to
 De Witt for the part he had played in the settlement,
 and that the statesman's desire for peace with England
 was the chief factor in maintaining it.

Quite apart from questions of trade, a new
 reason for discord arose in the summer of 1658. The
 States-General regarded with jealousy and suspicion
 the success of the French arms in the Spanish Nether-
 lands, and, above all, the acquisition of Dunkirk by the
 English. De Witt confessed to Downing that they did
 not like the Lord Protector's progress in Flanders, but
 would be glad that his arms were employed at a
 greater distance.² Thurloe alleged that the English
 would be better neighbours than the Spaniards.³ 'It's
 hard work,' said Downing, 'to make them believe that
 the Lord Protector, who is so strong at sea, should
 have such a port so near them.'⁴ It was true, said
 De Witt, that whilst Dunkirk was in the hands of the
 Spaniards it had done great mischief to particular
 persons by piracy; but more than that it could never
 do, the King of Spain being very weak at sea. In the
 hands of the English, who had such a naval strength, it

¹ Thurloe, vii. 293, 296.

² Ib. vii. 181. See also *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii. 366.

³ Thurloe, vii. 203.

⁴ Ib. vi. 229.

might in time, in case of a rupture, become dangerous to the very foundations of the Dutch state. Downing answered this argument very bluntly. If the United Provinces, he said, 'would quit their new maxim of balancing all the world, with which they have thriven very ill, and keep to their old maxim, which their first prince of Orange left them, of continuing well with and depending upon England, then instead of all these fears they would find nothing but matter of rejoicing and strength against their old enemy the Spaniard by Dunkirk being in those hands it now is.'¹ Such an argument was not likely to allay Dutch suspicion. A secret negotiation set on foot by Mazarin, reviving the old scheme for the partition of the Spanish Netherlands between France and the United Provinces, proved more effective in allaying opposition.²

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With all these obstacles in the way of an understanding it was very difficult to come to an agreement about the question of the northern war. Downing was convinced that the commercial interests of the Dutch in the Baltic were the object they had most at heart. If the Protector could induce the King of Sweden to abandon his attempts on Dantzic, or in some other way satisfy them as to his intentions and desires in the Baltic, all would be well. 'Truly I think you may little by little have your minds of this state.'³ De Witt argued that the Protector acted unwisely in favouring the growth of the Swedish power. He contrasted Cromwell's relations to France and Sweden. 'My Lord Protector,' said De Witt, 'did wholly manage the counsels of the King of France to the advantage of England; for France can get nothing

¹ Thurloe, vii. 245.

² See Molsbergen, *Frankrijk en de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, 1648-62, pp. 179-82.

³ Thurloe, vii. 245.

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by this alliance so considerable as to counterbalance the hazard they run by giving England a footing in the continent.' But the very opposite happened in the case of Sweden: 'on the contrary the King of Sweden did wholly manage the counsels of England to his advantage, and to the prejudice of England; for it could not possibly but be against its interest that one person should be so powerful in the Baltic Sea; whereby, in case of rupture with Sweden, England shall be put to such extremities for the commodities of that sea, beside the danger of invasion from him when so powerful at sea and land. And further, in case at any time hereafter a difference should happen between Sweden and France, Sweden, by reason of its common interest with France in Germany, would take part against England; and consequently the greater the Swede upon the sea coast the more dangerous for England.' Downing, who was never at a loss for an answer, replied, that if the King of Sweden had gained more in the Baltic than pleased the Dutch, the fault was not in the Protector but in themselves; for they had hindered the making of a separate peace between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, whereby affairs had been driven to the present extremity, which if they had followed the advice of the Protector, would have been prevented.¹

Yet, in spite of differences of opinion as to the past, both negotiators were bent upon effecting, if possible, an agreement between Sweden and Holland. Downing was convinced of De Witt's sincerity. He contrived to bring De Witt and Appelboom, the Swedish envoy, together, and to get them to talk openly with each other instead of exchanging protocols. The question which stood most in the way was that of the treaty of Elbing. The Dutch wished to include in the treaty

¹ Thurloe, vii. 245.

certain explanations or elucidations relative to the amount of the duties to be imposed on their trade. Charles X refused to confirm the treaty if the elucidations were included. To Downing the point at issue seemed of little material importance. 'I wonder,' he wrote, 'at the difficulty made, either on the one side in not quitting them, or on the other side in not confirming them. . . . But the King of Sweden saith, that it is a dishonour to him that, after a treaty is agreed, elucidations should be imposed upon him; and De Witt saith that the tolls upon merchandise are not sufficiently adjusted in the treaty itself; and that they have had so much experience of the Swedes imposing upon trade that they durst not trust him in that point.' Downing proposed that the question of the tolls should be referred to the arbitration of the Lord Protector, and that the Dutch should ratify the treaty without the elucidations.¹ This compromise seemed to have some prospect of success; and De Witt said that for his own part he would rest contented with it, and wrote to the burgomasters of Amsterdam in its favour. In gaining them, he said, he did not doubt but to gain others to be contented with it; but that 'if the King of Sweden would not consent to this or something of the kind, so great was the interest of this country in that trade, that he saw it absolutely impossible to bring matters to any accommodation.' If there were no settlement the States-General would not remain neutral; the Austrians, Poles, and Brandenburgers would offer them such advantageous conditions that he could not prevent their acceptance.²

Downing was convinced of De Witt's good faith, and of the necessity of persuading the King of Sweden to accept this solution. 'I do in my conscience

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4
14

¹ Thurloe, vii. 310; Pufendorff, v. 72.

² Ib. vii. 332.

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believe that De Witt in this business is real. I dare not say out of love for the King of Sweden, but out of consideration of the present entireness between the Protector, the King of Sweden and the King of France; and consequently that the States-General must either agree with the King of Sweden, or fall out with him and the rest. Truly upon this business do in a great measure depend all the affairs of Europe, and most especially of all the Protestants, which will all of them be more or less influenced thereby; and therefore God forbid that, seeing matters are now come so near together, there should be a punctilio of honour on the one side, and a jealousy in relation to their trade on the other, when both may be so happily and easily accommodated; and if this business go right the Elector of Brandenburg will not dare to stand against the King of Sweden, and consequently be saved from much misery; and the house of Austria will quit all their hopes from hence.’¹

Successful though Downing seemed likely to be in preventing an open breach between Sweden and Holland, and in maintaining good relations between England and the United Provinces, something more was necessary to the achievement of Cromwell’s purpose. If the arms of Sweden were to be employed against the House of Austria, as the Protector desired, it was necessary to effect a reconciliation between the King of Sweden and some of the powers with which he was still at war. Now that Denmark had made peace, it was necessary to bring about an agreement between Sweden and Poland, and above all between Sweden and Brandenburg. In April, 1658, Philip Meadowe was instructed to repair to Braunsberg in East Prussia, where peace negotiations between Poland and Sweden were to

¹ Thurloe, vii. 333. Downing to Thurloe, August ¹³/₂₃, 1658.

take place, and to offer the mediation of the Protector to the two powers.¹ One reason for the offer of this mediation, in addition to the desire to help Sweden, was that interests of English trade and navigation were much concerned in the question of the customs duties to be imposed in Prussian ports. ‘Certainly,’ said Downing, ‘the Lord Protector is much concerned in that affair, and it might be of great prejudice to him if that peace should be concluded without him.’ The Protector’s intervention was also desirable for political reasons. ‘Must it not undoubtedly be to his interest, if possible, to divide Poland from the house of Austria, and to turn the King of Sweden into Germany rather than engage him against Dantzic?’² Militant Puritanism longed to see the King of Sweden attacking the House of Austria. In this spirit the instructions given to Meadowe ordered him to insist especially upon one thing, both with the Kings of Sweden and Poland, namely, the complete exclusion of the House of Austria from the treaty.³ Fleetwood hoped that the Lord would please thoroughly to engage the King of Sweden in Germany, to carry on the great cause of the Protestant interest against the common enemy. ‘There is many a prayer upon that account on the file which will in due time be answered, and that will prosper; and the day of recompense for all the blood of saints will be rendered.’⁴

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1658

May
 $\frac{7}{17}$

June
21

The case of the Polish and Silesian Protestants, to which the Protector had referred in his speech to Parliament, was at this very moment exciting the sympathy of England, and arousing Puritan feeling against both Austria and Poland. The Protestants in

¹ Thurloe, vii. 49, 62.

² Ib. vii. 120.

³ Ib. vii. 63. The Instructions are dated April 9, 1658.

⁴ Ib. vii. 190.

CHAP.
XVI
1656-7

Poland and Polish Prussia had supported the cause of the King of Sweden, and welcomed his assumption of the Polish crown. 'I foresee,' wrote an English observer at Dantzic in the autumn of 1655, 'a prodigious persecution of our religion as soon as the Swede is forced to retire.'¹ It happened as he predicted, and since the rising of the Poles against the foreign invader was also a religious movement against the rule of heretics, the storm was turned against their Protestant countrymen. Polish Protestants in general were plundered and oppressed; some lost all they had and were driven into exile; in some cases their ministers were put to death with barbarous cruelty. After the extirpation of Protestantism in Bohemia many Bohemian Protestants had taken refuge in Poland. The town of Lesna or Lissa, in Posen, had become the headquarters of the Bohemian reformed churches, known as *Fratres Unitatis*. In April, 1656, it was burnt to the ground by the Poles; the two libraries of the Brethren were destroyed, and with them the books and MSS. of the learned Comenius perished also.² The sufferers appealed to the Protector, and Cromwell took up their cause with the same zeal as he had done that of the Vaudois.³ Comenius and other sufferers were invited to settle in Ireland, and money was raised to relieve their distress.⁴ As in the case of the Vaudois, the Protector ordered a national subscription for the Polish and Silesian Protestants; and the sum of £10,685 was collected for them during the spring of 1658, and entrusted

¹ Thurloe, iv. 119.

² See Kvacala's *Johan Amos Comenius, sein Leben und Schriften*, Leipzig, 1892, Part II, p. 374, and the account by Comenius himself entitled *Lesniae Excidium anno 1656 in Aprili factum fide historiae narratum*. See also Worthington's *Diary*, i. 60; Vaughan, ii. 430; Thurloe, v. 118.

³ Vaughan, *Protectorate of Cromwell*, ii. 279, 330, 449, 460; *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 257, 557.

⁴ Vaughan, ii. 447.

to the treasurers of the Vaudois Relief Fund for distribution.¹

CHAP.
XVI
1657

The sympathy of the Puritans for the oppressed Protestants of Germany and Poland interested England not merely in the question of enabling the King of Sweden to hold his own against his opponents, but also in the issue of the imperial election which was about to take place in Germany. The death of Ferdinand III in April, 1657, had opened the door to many ambitions and intrigues. It might be possible to transfer the imperial crown from the House of Hapsburg to some other family, and England had a double motive in supporting any such attempt. In the first place, since England was at war with the Spanish branch of the House of Hapsburg, the success of the attempt would deprive Spain of a powerful ally. In the second place, the Spanish and Austrian branches of that House were the heads of the Catholic interest in Europe.² In the language of Robert Baillie, these two powers were 'bloody and great supporters of Anti-christ,' whose fall every true Protestant hoped and longed for.³

Hence the death of Ferdinand III on April 2, 1657, had excited the liveliest expectations amongst English agents abroad. 'If it prove true,' wrote Richard Bradshaw, 'we shall have notable scuffling in the empire, and in probability an end of the Austrian rule to the great weakening of the Spanish interest.'⁴

¹ *English Historical Review*, October, 1894, pp. 16-28. For Cromwell's declaration on their behalf, see *Mercurius Politicus*, March 25-April 1, 1658, pp. 436-41; *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 229, 343, 344; and British Museum, E. 1073 (1) and (2).

² See *Add. MSS.*, 32093. This is a long paper on the desirability of England's intervention in the imperial election, unsigned, but probably addressed to Thurloe. Another indication of English interest in the matter was the publication of James Howell's *Discourse of the Empire*, which is dated by Thomason May 29, 1658. British Museum, E. 1823 (1).

³ Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 294.

⁴ Thurloe, vi. 178. April 7, 1657.

CHAP. 'God's providence,' wrote another agent, 'has so
 XVI disposed of this affair, as that it is likely to produce
 1657 one of the greatest changes that has happened for some
 ages in Christendom.'¹

In most cases the imperial election was merely a matter of form, for there was usually a King of the Romans, elected during the life of the Emperor, upon whom the succession naturally devolved. But in this case Ferdinand IV, chosen King of the Romans, had died in July, 1654, and when the Emperor Ferdinand III followed his son to the grave there was nothing to limit the freedom of choice of the electors to any particular person. Moreover, the second son of Ferdinand III, the Archduke Leopold, King of Hungary and Bohemia, was but seventeen years old, and could not be elected Emperor till he was eighteen. There was therefore an interregnum of fifteen months between the death of Ferdinand III and the election of Leopold, and the interval afforded an opportunity for diplomatic intrigues of every kind. In no imperial election since the contest between Charles V and Francis I did foreign princes take so large a share, and feel so great an interest. France had special reasons for intervening. Despite the provisions of the treaties of Westphalia, the Austrian branch of the House of Hapsburg had not ceased to assist the Spanish branch in its struggle with France. German soldiers had been sent to Lombardy and the Netherlands to the assistance of the Spaniards against the French. Cardinal Mazarin seized the opportunity which fortune offered him. He determined to use it, if possible, to deprive the Hapsburgs of the imperial crown; and if that could not be done, to separate the two branches of that House and reduce the Austrian one to impotence.²

¹ Thurloe, vi. 197. Bamfield to Thurloe.

² Chéruel, iii. 77, 98; Erdmannsdörffer, i. 302; Valfrey, *Hugues de Lionne*, 1881.

In this enterprise he looked to the Protector to assist him. In May, 1657, Lockhart reported to the English government that the Cardinal hoped 'to carry the empire into some other family,' and relied on Cromwell's help.¹ Mazarin himself wrote to Bordeaux ordering him to press the Protector to oppose the election of the Archduke Leopold. Leopold, he told Cromwell, had promised to assist Poland against Sweden; and therefore the Protector was interested in opposing the election of the Archduke to the imperial throne.² The difficulty was to find any candidate who could be opposed to Leopold with a reasonable chance of success. Some imagined that the election of a foreign prince was possible, and Charles X was suggested. On the news of the Emperor's death, Count Tott, the Swedish ambassador in Paris, was discovered by Lockhart to be 'big with the expectation that his master will be elected emperor. He told me that this was the time wherein his Highness by his endeavours that way might readily oblige his master. I assured him his Highness would leave nothing unattempted that might contribute to it; though I fear the electors will not easily be induced to choose a prince of so great a spirit.'³ Nothing was less probable; but nevertheless British Protestants, who knew nothing of European and less of German politics, continued to pin their hope on the election of Charles X. As late as June, 1658, Baillie pictured that King turning his victorious arms against Austria, backed by the assistance of France and Holland. 'It seems no hard matter,' said he, 'to get the imperial crown and to turn the ecclesiastical princes into secular Protestants. A long tract of dreams I have on the success of Charles, if God help him to begin where his heroic uncle Gustavus left off.'⁴

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¹ Thurloe, vi. 220.

³ Thurloe, vi. 221.

² Chéruel, iii. 79, 80.

⁴ Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 371.

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For a moment Cardinal Mazarin thought it possible to procure the election of Louis XIV. He circulated in Germany fictitious letters representing the young King of France as the sovereign fittest, by his power and his personal gifts, to wear the crown which Charlemagne had worn and Francis I had aspired to wear. But, from the first, he saw that the chance of success was but slight, and he endeavoured to find a more acceptable candidate in Germany itself. The Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Neuburg were in turn thought of; but the first refused to be a candidate, and the second had no prospect of election. Ferdinand Maria, Elector of Bavaria, was Mazarin's final choice; but he was incurably unambitious, and preferred to be a rich elector rather than a poor emperor. On January 12, 1658, he concluded a secret treaty with the Court of Vienna by which he promised his vote to the Archduke Leopold. By that time the question was practically decided. The Cardinal himself told Lockhart that the election would certainly go in favour of Leopold, and Lockhart in reporting the conversation to his government expressed his concurrence.¹

In these intrigues about the imperial election English diplomacy had taken no direct part. Secretary Thurloe kept a secret agent in Germany in the person of Colonel Bamfield, who sent him regular intelligence as to the progress of the electoral question and the

¹ Thurloe, vi. 726. Lockhart's letter is dated January 2-12. He says: 'His eminence entertained me at large concerning the affairs of Germany; the substance of it was, that the election will be carried in favour of the King of Hungary; the Elector of Mayence hath declared himself publicly for it; his pretence of change of party is, it is no more to be feared, that the Empire and the kingdom of Spain will fall into one man's share. Upon the first news of the Prince of Spain's birth, I did hint to your lordship that it would facilitate the King of Hungary's being elected; and yet I persuade myself that emergence hath contributed more to the pretence than the reality of the thing, which I believe hath been intended all along, notwithstanding of these hopes to the contrary, wherewith his eminence flattered himself.'

prospects of the various candidates; but the English government took no action in the matter.¹ The Protector contented himself with giving a vague general support to the policy of the Cardinal, and his policy was summed up in opposition to the Austrian candidate.² The only elector he attempted directly to influence was the Elector of Brandenburg; and in his case Cromwell's chief aim was to reconcile Brandenburg and Sweden.

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Frederick William was in a critical position in the spring of 1658. He had deserted the Swedish cause in 1657, when Charles X withdrew his forces from Poland, and was now bound to the anti-Swedish coalition by three alliances. He was allied with Poland by the two treaties of Wehlau (September 19, 1657) and Bromberg (November 8, 1657), and had obtained thereby the sovereignty of Prussia and some small accessions of territory on the eastern borders of Pomerania. He had also concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with Denmark on October 30, 1657. But he needed a more powerful ally than either Denmark or Poland.³ For his great aim in joining the coalition was to acquire the western half of Pomerania, including Stettin, which Sweden had obtained by the treaty of Osnabrück in 1648, though by right it belonged to Brandenburg. He needed for this the co-operation of Austria, but Austrian aid was difficult to secure. Months slipped by in negotiations, and the opportunity for a diversion in Pomerania and Holstein, which might have stopped the triumphant progress of the Swedish arms in Jutland, was irretrievably lost.

Not till February 14, 1658, was the offensive and defensive league between Brandenburg and Austria

¹ See Thurloe, vi. 197, 575, 585, 641.

² See *Urkunden und Actenstücke*, vii. 766, 770, 772.

³ Erdmannsdörffer, i. 279, 281, 291; Philippson, i. 279.

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against Sweden finally completed; it was joined by Poland as a third contracting party. A joint army of 23,000 men was to be brought together—10,000 Austrians, 7000 Poles, and 6000 Brandenburgers. The Elector by a secret article was given the right to garrison with his troops the most important places in Pomerania, when they were conquered.¹ The treaty came too late: on February 9 Charles had crossed the Little Belt, and when it was signed he was about to cross the Great Belt. On February 27 the peace of Roeskilde was concluded. The plans of the coalition were frustrated. The conduct of the Elector had called forth the wrathful indignation of Cromwell, to whom it seemed incredible and monstrous that a Protestant prince should seek to destroy the King of Sweden, the Protestant hero. Lockhart echoed this indignation. ‘The Duke of Brandenburg,’ he wrote, had ‘most wickedly and basely betrayed’ the King of Sweden by undertaking his expulsion out of Pomerania. ‘The solemn oaths and covenants he is under with the King of Sweden render this treachery the more signally odious. I am hopeful God will not only disappoint his hopes of reducing Pomerania, to which he hath now no just pretence, since by the treaty of Munster satisfaction to more than the value of his right is given, but will raise him new enemies whose success against him shall eminently witness the Lord’s abhorrence of his perfidious dealings.’² Others hoped rather for the conversion of the Elector to better principles. ‘I wish,’ wrote Baillie, ‘Brandenburg may return to his old posture, and not draw on himself next the Swedish armies, which the Lord forbid, for after Sweden we love Brandenburg next best.’³

It seemed likely that Charles X, freed by the Danish

¹ Erdmannsdörffer, i. 291; Philippson, i. 285.

² Lockhart to Thurloe, January 12, 1658. Thurloe, vi. 726.

³ Baillie, *Letters*, iii. 371.

peace, would next turn his arms against Brandenburg, and not, as the Protector wished him to do, head a Protestant league against the House of Austria. In a conversation with the English envoy at Roeskilde, the King took such a fancy to the horse and the sword which Meadowe had brought with him from England that the latter felt obliged to present them both to the King. Charles told him he would use the sword against the House of Austria. 'I told him,' says Meadowe, 'I should acquaint my master therewith, who would be sure to require the promise. I wish,' added Meadowe, 'he does not use it against the Elector of Brandenburg.'¹

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To prevent such a result, and to induce the Elector to abandon his alliance with Austria, the Protector resolved to send an envoy to Berlin. On April 9, 1658, Jephson received orders from Thurloe to repair to the Elector of Brandenburg with all speed, 'and in particular to deal with him about the election of the Emperor, giving him those reasons which are very obvious, how dangerous it will be for the Protestant interest for him to give his voice for the King of Hungary.'² His earlier instructions had ordered him generally to do his best to bring about a reconciliation between Sweden and Brandenburg; but circumstances had hitherto prevented him from approaching the Elector.³ Jephson saw the Elector at Berlin on April 30, 1658, and presented three requests on behalf of the Protector. He demanded first, in the interests of religion, union between the Elector and the King of Sweden. The Protector, he added, would be very unwilling to renounce the friendship of Brandenburg, but in the event of a war between the two powers, would probably be unable to avoid helping Sweden. In

¹ Thurloe, vi. 838.

² Ib. vii. 63. See also Pufendorff, v. 83.

³ *Urkunden und Actenstücke*, vii. 793.

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the second place, he urged the Elector to promote the transference of the Imperial crown to some other family, and to give his own vote against the Austrian candidate. In the third place, he asked that, in the impending capitulation which was to be imposed on the new Emperor, a claim should be inserted prohibiting the Emperor and all the states of the Emperor from assisting Spain with men, money or provisions in the war which was being carried on in Flanders.¹

The Elector's answer, dated May $\frac{1}{11}$, was not very satisfactory.² He desired peace with Sweden, he said, but Charles X had unjustly attacked Poland, and the interests of Brandenburg were so closely bound with those of Poland that he could not separate his cause from that of his ally. Poland had also deserved well of Christendom as a bulwark against Turks, Tartars, and Muscovites, and must be supported. The Protector would act most usefully if he would promote a just and durable peace between Poland and Sweden, which the Elector would do his best to forward. As to Sweden, Jephson found the Elector much incensed against the King for religious as well as political reasons. 'The greatest scruple,' he reported, 'Brandenburg makes against the King of Sweden is his severity against the reformed religion.' Its professors had been declared incapable of holding offices in his dominions. The Elector was a Calvinist, the King of Sweden a Lutheran, and the animosity of the two sects hindered the union of the Protestants which was the basis of the Protector's policy. To enlist the support of the Protector for the oppressed Calvinists was one of the objects of the Elector's policy,

¹ Thurloe, vii. 105; *Urkunden und Actenstücke*, vii. 793.

² A summary of the answer is given in *Urkunden und Actenstücke*, vii. 795, and it is printed in full in Thurloe, vii. 108. For Jephson's criticisms, see Thurloe, vii. 189.

and Schlezer, his agent in England, was specially ordered to represent the matter to Cromwell.¹

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As to the Imperial election, Frederick William announced that he meant to follow safe rather than specious counsels, and to support the candidate whom the majority of the Electors preferred, therefore necessarily a Catholic. As a matter of fact, though he did not say so, he was already practically pledged to the Archduke.²

On the third point the Elector's answer was more favourable. He wished to preserve the peace of the Empire, and had instructed his ambassador at Frankfurt to take the necessary measures for the maintenance of the treaty of Munster and the observance of the rights of the King of France under that treaty.³

So far as the election was concerned, Jephson's mission came many months too late. Even Thurloe, in a letter written just before Jephson's arrival at Berlin, admitted that the election of the Austrian candidate was inevitable. Under these circumstances Cardinal Mazarin, abandoning his earlier schemes, fell back upon the plan of tying the hands of the new Emperor by the conditions of the capitulation imposed upon him by the electors before his formal election, and

¹ Thurloe, vii. 106; *Urkunden und Actenstücke*, vii. 796. Two pamphlets on the oppression of the Prussian Calvinists by the Swedes were printed in England during 1659. One entitled 'The Swedish Cloak of Religion,' E. 993 (5). This is a translation of a German pamphlet, *Schwedische Religions Kappe*, published in 1657. See also *The Promotion of the Protestant Cause in Poland by the King of Sweden. Faithfully translated*, 1659. A third tract, describing a conference between Cromwell and Oxenstiern in Hell, is summarised in *Die erste Englische Revolution und die öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland*, by H. Wätjen, Heidelberg, 1901, p. 88.

² Philippson, *Der Grosse*, Kurfürst, i. 307.

³ On this Jephson comments: 'Whereas the last paragraph only mentions the conservation of the treaty of Munster (in general terms) on behalf of the King of France, it was positively promised me that the elector should give punctual orders to his ambassadors, that he should insist that these words should be inserted into the capitulations that the house of Austria might not send any relief to the King of Spain, into France or Flanders, under pretence of sending succours against the English.' Thurloe, vii. 189.

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forming a league amongst the princes of the empire to maintain the provisions of the treaty of Westphalia and to enforce the observance of the capitulation.¹ In this way the two branches of the House of Hapsburg would be separated ; the Austrian branch would be prevented from helping the Spanish branch, and Spain would be exposed alone and unaided to the attacks of France.

Mazarin's new policy suited the interests of England as well as those of France. It was as much Cromwell's interest as the Cardinal's to isolate Spain. Thanks to the fact that the policy was also in accordance with the true interests of Germany, it was accepted by the Electors ; the Elector of Mayence and the Elector of Brandenburg were specially energetic in supporting it. The capitulation was practically concluded by the beginning of June. The important clauses were the thirteenth and fourteenth, by which the future Emperor was to swear that he would scrupulously observe the treaties of Osnabruck and Munster, and that he would not furnish arms, money, soldiers, provisions, or any other commodities to foreign powers which were enemies of the crown of France either now or in the future.² And not only was it forbidden to send help to Spain against France, but also to send help to Spain against the allies of France. The words ' foederatos Galliae,' inserted in spite of the opposition of the Spanish ambassador and the papal nuncio, were specially intended to include the English. England therefore reaped from this capitulation a solid advantage in its struggle with Spain, and owed it to good understanding between Mazarin and Cromwell.³ The election was now merely a matter of form. Leopold was unanimously chosen Emperor on July 18, and was crowned on July 31.

¹ Chéruel, iii. 107, 113. Valfrey, pp. 121, 156.

² Chéruel, iii. 119.

³ Thurloe, vii. 295.

However, the provisions of the capitulation were mere ink and paper, unless there was some instrument in existence by which they could be enforced. It was to this feeling that the League of the Rhine owed its existence. This league sprang out of a defensive alliance between various Protestant princes formed in 1652, and another between the ecclesiastical electors and various Catholic princes formed in 1651 and renewed in 1655 and 1657. Mazarin saw that they offered the basis of a wider league which might serve to limit the action of the Emperor, and to limit it in a manner favourable to France. So was formed on August 14, 1658, the League of the Rhine. Its members were the three ecclesiastical Electors, the three Dukes of Brunswick Luneburg, the Bishop of Munster, the Palatine of Neuburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The King of Sweden was also included as Duke of Bremen and Verden. The King of France signed defensive alliances with the league the next day, and became a member of it. By the terms of the league the German princes were to put into the field an army of 5100 infantry and 2550 horse, to which France was to add 1600 foot and 800 horse.¹ Its avowed object was the maintenance of the treaties of Westphalia and of the capitulation which had just been imposed on the Emperor.² Ultimately, no doubt, it became an instrument for extending the influence of France in Germany; but for the moment it served the necessary purpose of defending the peace of the Empire, and patriotic German statesmen such as the Archbishop of Mainz were justified in supporting it.³ Two powers, Spain and Sweden, sought to drag the empire into war—Spain because she wished to secure the aid of the Catholic princes of Germany and the Austrian branch of the

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¹ Chéruel, iii. 125. Valfrey, p. 166. Erdmannsdörffer, i. 318.

² The text is given by Vast, *Les grands Traités de Louis XIV.*, 1893, i. 72.

³ Chéruel, iii. 122-24.

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Hapsburgs in its struggle with France; Sweden because Charles dreamt of a war against the House of Austria defrayed by subsidies from France and England and supported by a coalition of minor Protestant states.¹ By the League of the Rhine, Mazarin put a stop to both these schemes. Nevertheless, the King of Sweden gained one advantage through the policy of his ally. Bremen and Verden, the most vulnerable portion of his dominions, were guaranteed from an attack by his membership of the league. If the Elector of Brandenburg attacked that part of his territories, the confederates were bound to come to his aid; and in this way Charles X had scored a great success against Frederick William.²

From another point of view, too, the league was of European importance. It contained amongst its members both Catholics and Protestants; its adherents were not drawn from one creed only. In this respect it was a realisation and an application of the principles of toleration proclaimed by the treaty of Westphalia. So long as it existed it put an end to the possibility of a new religious war in Germany.³ The bearing of this on the policy of the Protector is obvious. That policy had been based on the idea of a general league of Protestant states against the House of Hapsburg; England was to make war by sea against the Spanish branch of the House, and the German Protestant princes headed by Sweden against the Austrian branch. The formation of the League of the Rhine had knocked the bottom out of this policy. Oliver might continue to attack Spain, but there would be no corresponding attack against Austria.

¹ Valfrey, pp. 162-71.

² Erdmannsdörffer, i. 319. Waddington, i. 435.

³ Chéruel, iii. 129. Valfrey, p. 157.

CHAPTER XVII

THE DEATH OF CROMWELL

NEVER had the government of the Protector seemed stronger than it appeared to be in July, 1658. Abroad the acquisition of Dunkirk and the ruin of the Spanish power in Flanders attested the success of its arms and its diplomacy, while the little cloud which was rising in the north was unperceived by common observers. At home the decisive suppression of Royalist conspiracies, the frustration of foreign invasion, and the proved fidelity of the army seemed to make its position unassailable. But beneath the surface of prosperity lay a difficulty and a danger which it would task the skill of the strongest and most glorious ruler to overcome. Cromwell's treasury was empty, and every month the need of money grew greater. In January, 1658, the pay of the soldiers was so many months in arrear that the Protector admitted there was 'fear of being necessitated to take free quarter upon the people'; while supplies for the navy were so short that men of war had to be kept at sea because there was no money to pay the sailors when they came in.¹ All Thurloe's private letters to Henry Cromwell are full of lamentations over the poverty of the government. 'The great want is money, which puts us to the wall in all our business,' he wrote on March 16. In April things were

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¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell Speech*, xvii. Declaration for a Day of Thanksgiving, July 3, 1658.

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no better. 'The clamours which we have, both from the sea and land, are such that they can scarce be borne.' In July the credit of the government was completely exhausted. 'We are at that pass for money, that we are forced to go a begging to particular aldermen of London for five or six thousand to send to Dunkirk, and I fear we shall be denied.'¹

The main causes of this financial distress are clear, although the details are difficult to state with exactness, since the accounts are confused, contradictory and defective.²

On April 21, 1657, during the discussion on the amendments needed in the Petition and Advice, the Protector handed the committee a statement of the estimated expenditure for the year ending October 31, 1657. He was no financier, he said apologetically. 'I have as little skill in arithmetic as I have in the law.' Nevertheless he made the position perfectly plain.³ The expenditure for the period named would come to £2,426,989, and the income of the government, if the existing taxes were retained, was about £1,900,000, so that it was necessary to provide an additional sum of over £500,000.

Parliament, however, did not intend to retain the existing system of taxation; it proposed to make certain alterations both in the amount raised and the method of raising it. By the seventh article of the Petition and Advice it had promised to provide a certain fixed revenue which was assumed to be sufficient for the normal expenditure in time of peace. 'To the end there may be a constant revenue for the support of the

¹ Thurloe, vii. 4, 99, 295.

² See Dr. W. A. Shaw's summary of the finance of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, *Cambridge Modern History*, iv. 454-8.

³ See vol. i. pp. 181-4, Carlyle's *Cromwell Speech*, xiii., and pp. 110, 121, 493 in vol. iii. of Mrs. Lomas's edition of Carlyle.

government, and for the safety and defence of these nations by sea and land, we declare our willingness to settle forthwith a yearly revenue of £1,300,000; whereof £1,000,000 for the navy and army, and £300,000 for the support of the government, and no part thereof to be raised by a land tax.’¹

In presenting the Petition the Speaker had added a brief explanation of this article. ‘The Parliament,’ he said, ‘are very tender of the purses of the people, and therefore are unwilling to open them wider than the necessities of affairs shall require; and really when their purses are opened too wide, not only their money but their hearts fly out, nor shall this burden rest upon their lands, but be raised in another way.’² Parliament believed that this £1,300,000 could be provided from the customs, the excise, and the miscellaneous revenue paid into the Exchequer. At present those sources did not afford more than one million a year at the outside; but the yield of both excise and customs was increasing, and it was proposed to raise the rates of both and to set them out to farm.

Assuming this expectation to be correct, it was necessary to find £600,000 more to bring the revenues of the government up to the sum of £1,900,000, which, according to the Protector’s statement, was the amount it at present enjoyed. Further, in order to make the income square with the expenditure, an additional sum of £526,000 would be required, in order to bring the total up to £2,426,000.

Much against its will, therefore, Parliament had to maintain the existing system of monthly assessments on land and property. This had been in force, in one shape or another, ever since February 1643. In 1647

¹ Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, p. 453.

² Burton, *Diary*, i. 406.

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the House of Lords had voted its abolition, and in 1653 the reformers of the Little Parliament had attempted to alter the method of levying it. Yet though this tax was complained of as oppressive and inequitable, it was plainly indispensable. When Cromwell became Protector he found it fixed at £120,000 per month, and reduced it first to £90,000, and three months later to £80,000.¹ At this last sum it had stood since December 25, 1654, and it now brought in about £920,000 per annum.²

Knowing the feeling about the tax, the supporters of the government did not venture to propose to the House its continuance at the present rate. On April 24, 1657, when Cromwell's paper was debated, Sir Richard Onslow urged that £600,000 a year (to make up the difference between £1,300,000 and £1,900,000) should be provided by continuing the assessment at the rate of £50,000 per month. Even to this reduced sum there was great opposition. 'I am sorry to hear any land tax mentioned here,' said Sir William Strickland. 'The people would never have chosen us if they had thought we would have ever moved that. Nothing is so like to blast your settlement as a land tax.' After much discussion Parliament voted £600,000 a year for the next three years as 'a temporary supply towards the maintenance of the armies and navies of this Commonwealth.' It was to be raised by an assessment of £50,000 per month from June 24, 1657, of which sum England was to pay £35,000, Ireland £9000, and Scotland £6000.³

There remained the question how to provide for the

¹ Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 153, 263; iii. 64, 103.

² Ordinances of June 8, 1654, and February 8, 1655. Eighty thousand pounds per month, deducting the cost of collection and local abatements, brought in not £960,000 but about £40,000 less. Of this £80,000 England paid £60,000, while Scotland and Ireland were to contribute, each of them, £10,000 per month.

³ Burton, *Diary*, ii. 24-31. *Commons' Journals*, vii. 523.

£526,000 still needed to defray the expenditure of the present year. On January 30, 1657, Parliament had voted a grant of £400,000 for carrying on the war with Spain; and on February 7 it determined that £215,000 of it should be raised by imposing an additional assessment for the period of three months. Of this sum England was to contribute £180,000, Ireland £20,000, and Scotland £15,000.¹

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To complete the sum necessary to make the revenue square with the expenditure a new tax was invented. James I and Charles I had endeavoured to check the growth of London by proclamations imposing fines on persons building new houses in the suburbs. Parliament, at its wits' end for money, tried to make this growth a source of revenue. By the New Buildings Act, which received the Protector's assent on June 26, 1657, a tax of one year's full rent was imposed on every house built within ten miles of the walls of the City since March 25, 1620. Sanguine financiers calculated that this imposition would bring in a sum of £300,000, and some said even £400,000.²

The members of Parliament separated on June 26, 1657, when the session ended, with the conviction that they had amply provided for the necessities of the State. When they reassembled on January 20, 1658, they

¹ *Commons' Journals*, vii. 483, 487. Bills were brought in for this purpose and passed (ib. vii. 545, 551, 567). Those for England and Ireland received the Protector's assent on June 9, that for Scotland on June 22. The paper which the Protector intended to present to the House on January 25, 1658, clearly explains that this was an addition to the ordinary monthly assessment. 'They ordered,' he says, 'the raysinge of three monthes taxes over againe at £60,000 per month in England, and in Ireland in lewe of that three monthes £20,000, and in Scotland £15,000, which in all come unto £215,000.' See *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1658-9, p. 80, and *Commons' Journals*, vii. 589.

² For the Act, see Scobell, ii. 484. For the previous proclamation, see Gardiner, *History of England*, viii. 288. Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, iii. 92. *Analytical Index to Remembrancia*, vol. i. pp. 41-51. The debates on the bill are in Burton's *Diary*, ii. 25, 159, 180, 206, 224, 258.

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learnt from the mouth of Lord Keeper Fiennes that the supplies granted had 'fallen short of the Parliament's own expectations, according to the lowest estimate they were reckoned at.'¹ A paper received from the Lord Protector a few days later confirmed this statement.² 'There is not,' he said, 'above £3000 come in by the new buildings, and the Exchequer revenue is fallen short £200,000.'

In the long run the New Buildings Act brought in a total of £40,000; but payments came in slowly and this small sum took two years to realise.³ The deficiency in the Exchequer revenue was caused by the failure of the indirect taxes to produce the increased sum which sanguine members of Parliament had calculated on getting. On June 26, 1657, two acts had received the Protector's assent: one 'For Advancing the Receipts of the Excise and new Impost,' with a new book of rates attached to it; the other appointing thirty-seven commissioners with power to contract for farming the excise and customs.⁴ At first Secretary Thurloe was very confident that this method of dealing with those branches of revenue was to be a great success. On July 28 he told Henry Cromwell that a number of substantial merchants had offered to pay £800,000 a year for the farm of the customs and excise, and that £300,000 in addition was offered for the farm of the duties on ale and beer. 'If these rates be made good,' he said, 'it will be a very brave revenue.'⁵ But the intending farmers drew back,

¹ *Commons' Journals*, vii. 587.

² *Ib.* vii. 589. Burton, *Diary*, ii. 374. The paper, which is undated, is calendared in *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1658-9, p. 80.

³ It brought in £8900 between March 14 and May 8, 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 128). Dr. Shaw's notes give the total up to Michaelmas, 1659, as £41,377 19s. 7½d. See also *Commons' Journals*, vii. 628.

⁴ Scobell, ii. 452, 513.

⁵ Thurloe, vi. 425. Clarke, *Papers*, iii. 114, 115. *Fifth Report, Historical MSS. Comm.*, pp. 164, 165.

and the bulk of the customs continued to be collected by commissioners as before. Nevertheless, the duty on coals exported from England and Scotland was let to Martin Noel for £22,000 a year, and the excise on inland commodities of England and Scotland to the same person for £65,000 a year.¹

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The excise of ale and beer was let with great ease and success. Contracts were made with individuals for counties or groups of counties. The farm of London, Middlesex, and Surrey was let for £128,000 per annum. Gloucestershire and Somersetshire for £18,000; Yorkshire for £16,500; and other counties for proportionate sums. The whole revenue from this source was farmed out for a total of £329,000; but the process of making the contracts was not completed till the spring of 1658, and consequently the advantages offered could not be realised at once.²

Moreover, the farmers met with great difficulties in getting back their money. There were riots against the excisemen at Leeds. In London the obstinate opposition of the brewers was an obstacle difficult to surmount. In Wiltshire, Worcestershire, Yorkshire, and many other counties, the Justices of the Peace proved unwilling to assist the farmers in levying the duties.³ For the excise had from the first beginning been an unpopular tax, and farming it out made it still more obnoxious. It was a tax, said a pamphleteer, 'more burthensome than shipmoney'; intended to make the merchants, tradesmen, and artificers of London 'poor and low,' so that they might be 'ridden at pleasure' by the tyrant; calculated to oppress, enslave and

¹ *Commons' Journals*, vii. 627, 628. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 206, 225.

² *Ib.* 1657-8, pp. 94, 113, 117, 261. *Commons' Journals*, vii. 627.

³ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 261, 290, 321; 1658-9, pp. 15, 43, 45, 47, 49, 59, 64, 76, 106-8. *Thurloe*, vii. 240.

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impoverish the whole nation. 'Did ever any company of men before abuse parliamentary authority so, as these men have done; in making an act to let to farm the good people of this nation, their properties and goods, to such as will bid most; and authorising their members to become like panders, to give entertainment to all comers, who have a mind to become patentees, and contract with them for powers to use the English free people as they please?'¹

If political feelings tended to obstruct the raising of the excise, and so to diminish the revenue, purely economic causes prevented the anticipated rise in the customs. The new rates were much too high, as men had predicted. A merchant warned Parliament that the revenue would fail if too great a burden were laid upon trade; 'I may compare it to a cow, that may give a great deal of milk, if she be well fed and tenderly used; and none should offer violence to her lest she hold up her milk.' But the warning was not heeded. 'The merchants, and generally all trades in the city,' said a letter written in June, 1657, 'are much troubled and storm highly at the proceedings of this titular parliament—I will not say they curse them to the pit of hell—for by the acts they have made they have raised yet more and more the customs and excise of almost all commodities, to the destruction of trade.'² A year later that sagacious observer, George Downing, pointed out, in a letter to General Monck, the consequences of this excessive taxation of imports. 'The plain truth is your book of rates for the customs is as an impassable

¹ 'A Narrative of the Late Parliament' (*Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 467-8).

² Burton, *Diary*, ii. 23. *Fifth Report, Historical MSS. Comm.*, p. 164. *Clarke Papers*, iii. 175, 178. According to Dr. Shaw's figures the yield of the customs, which was £386,000 in 1656-7, sank to £368,000 in 1657-8. 'It had been £496,000 in 1654-5 before the war with Spain was declared. On the other hand, it rose very considerably after March, 1656, bringing in £656,000 between March, 1658, and September, 1659. This is difficult to explain.'

barrier against trade; and let what else in the world will be or can be done, as long as that stands as it is now, it's a vanity to you to hope for trade.' He quoted the example of Holland in support of his contention. 'I am clearly of opinion that you ought to take away the half of the customs, yea in some things, as particularly all woollen manufactures, to bring down the cloth from six shillings and eightpence custom to eightpence or fourpence, as it is in this country; and in other things you ought to take away all the custom, as upon Spanish wools and other wools imported, and England shall never, and can never flourish, until this be done.'¹

The result of this difference between the actual receipts of the year and the estimated yield of the taxes was a deficit of between £400,000 and £500,000.² There was also a previous debt to be added to this. In October, 1656, an estimate presented to Parliament had stated that the arrears due to the army and navy and other liabilities amounted to £856,000; and besides this there was an old debt of about £260,000 charged on the excise, which was apparently an inheritance from the days of the Republic.³ In the absence of exact figures it is impossible to state the precise total to which the debts of the State came in the summer of 1658, but the

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 175, 178.

² Viz. £300,000 deficit in the Exchequer revenue, and between £200,000 and £300,000 deficit in the tax on new buildings.

³ 'The public debts were made known, which for the sea forces, the land forces, and the charges of the government amounted to £856,000 odde moneyes, besides an old debt charged upon the Excise about £260,000' (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 76). The old debt reappears in Scawen's report to Parliament on April 7, 1659. 'To several persons, for monies charged by Acts and Ordinances of Parliament as by the accompt of the Commissioners of Excise appears £268,947 19s. 6d.' (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 629, 631). Cromwell's paper of January, 1658, says 'the debts of the Commonwealth with arreres to the armies and fleetes to the beginning of October 1656 . . . was between £800,000 and £900,000.'

CHAP. amount can hardly have been less than a million and a
 XVII half.¹
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As to the details of the debt, it is only possible to state the sum due to the navy. In January Cromwell stated that the arrears due to the fleet amounted to £540,000: in July a report of the Admiralty commissioners estimated the debts of the navy on the first of that month as £573,474.² As to the military forces, Cromwell stated in January that the arrears due to the armies of the three nations amounted to £300,000, 'or thereabouts,' besides nearly a year and a half's pay due to the militia, that is, nearly £100,000 more.³

The financial catastrophe with which the Protectorate was now menaced was due in part to Cromwell's own policy, in part to that of the previous government. His foreign policy had increased the expenditure of the state by half a million a year, or perhaps by six hundred thousand a year. The increased expense of the navy, and the cost of the troops in Jamaica and Flanders, were the results of the breach with Spain for which he was responsible.⁴

¹ Scawen's report on April 7, 1659, says that the total debts of the State amounted to £1,747,584. This must be an underestimate, since it gives the pay of the military forces up to March 29, 1659, but that of the navy only to November 1, 1658—about £150,000 should be added to cover the navy debt for the period, which was accumulating at the rate of about £30,000 per month. This would make the total debt, roughly, about £1,900,000 in April, 1659.

² *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1658-9, p. 86. In the same paper the charge of the navy for a year from July 1, 1658, to June 30, 1659, is estimated at £926,537. Mr. Oppenheim in his *Administration of the Royal Navy* (p. 368) gives, from the Audit Office Declared Accounts, the amounts received and paid by the treasurers of the navy during various years; but the figures for the general income of the State with which he compares them are wrong.

³ The arrears of the army are probably understated. Monck, writing on December 5, 1657, said that the pay of the forces in Scotland was seven months in arrears, i.e. that at least £150,000 was owing them (*Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 373). In February, 1658, £244,000 was owing to the Irish forces, for £130,000 of which not even a nominal provision had been made (Thurloe, vi. 813).

⁴ The naval estimates rose, as we have seen, to £994,000 for 1657, and £926,000

On the other hand part of the deficit was due to the necessity of maintaining one army of occupation in Ireland and another in Scotland, conquests made during the rule of the republic which its successor had the task of holding. At the commencement of the Protectorate these two dependencies cost the English treasury about three quarters of a million, at its close, about three hundred thousand pounds per annum.¹ This reduction of the military charges was not merely local, but general; it was effected by disbanding part of the forces and diminishing the pay of the rest, not by transferring regiments from the Irish and Scottish to the English establishment. In 1658, despite the contingents in Flanders and Jamaica, the total number of soldiers in service was about 10,000 less than it had been in 1654; while the estimated cost of the land forces, which had been £1,508,000 in 1654, was, in 1657, £1,132,489.²

During the same period taxation had been very considerably diminished. When the Long Parliament was turned out, the monthly assessment on England alone had risen to £120,000. Nine months after becoming Protector Cromwell reduced it to £90,000 and three months later to £60,000, thus remitting taxation to the extent of £700,000 a year. It was not very wise, since neither the small increase in the yield of the indirect taxes, nor the large economies effected by his

for 1658. That for 1655 was £903,000 (Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 82). But for the war something between five hundred and six hundred thousand a year would have sufficed.

The cost of the army in Jamaica is difficult to state. In 1659 it cost about £50,000 a year; earlier, when its numbers were larger, it must have cost nearly double that sum.

Dunkirk and the troops in Flanders cost in 1659 about £74,000. Before June, 1658, the troops cost less, since they were paid by Louis XIV. See *Commons' Journals*, vii. 628, 629.

¹ See pp. 115-8, 164-6; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 630, 640.

² For a brief statement of the numbers and cost of the army at various times, see Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, pp. 35, 184.

CHAP. government, balanced this diminution in its income.
 XVII But the reduction was dictated by a desire to alleviate
 1655 the burdens of the nation and meet the wishes expressed by his first Parliament.

When the Protector met his second Parliament, he explained and vindicated his financial administration. 'We have honestly—it may not be so wisely as others would have done—but with honest and plain hearts, laboured and endeavoured the disposal of the treasure to public uses, and laboured to pull off the common charge £60,000 a month, as you see. And if we had continued that charge that was left upon the nation, perhaps we could have had as much money [in hand] as now we are in debt.'¹

It has been pointed out already that this debt was partly an inheritance from the Commonwealth. Republican speakers and writers, both of that generation and the next, persistently represented Cromwell as succeeding to a full treasury. As a matter of fact, 1653 when he assumed power he succeeded to a debt of about £700,000.²

The Republic, like the Long Parliament, had made income and expenditure meet by the expedient of

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Speech v., September 17, 1656, ii. 545, ed. Lomas.

² 'At Cromwell's usurpation (reckoning the ready money in cash, the armies paid some months in advance, and stores newly laid in) he found (all debts allowed for) £700,000 at least beforehand' (Slingsby Bethell, *The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, 1668; cf. *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ii. 191, ed. 1885). Haselrig says the Long Parliament left £200,000 in cash in the treasury (Burton, *Diary*, iii. 57).

On the other hand, Cromwell in his speech on September 17, 1656, said: 'When the Long Parliament sat [i.e. ceased to sit] this nation owed £700,000. We examined it; it was brought unto that,—in that short meeting [i.e. the Little Parliament] that was within half a year after the government came to our hands. I believe there was rather more than less' (Speech v.). A deficit of £515,000 on the navy estimates was reported to the Little Parliament on September 5, 1653 (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 300, 314, 321). There was also an old debt of £243,309 charged on the excise bearing interest at 8 per cent. (ib. vii. 329). This was obviously the debt which reappears in 1656 and 1659.

selling confiscated lands; but that resource was now impossible. 'All your treasure,' Cromwell told Parliament in 1654, 'was exhausted and spent when this government was undertaken: all accidental ways of bringing in treasure to a very inconsiderable sum consumed; the lands sold, the sums in hand spent; Rents, Fee-Farms, King's, Queen's, Prince's, Bishops', Deans-and- Chapters', Delinquents' lands sold.'¹

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A modern government would have dealt with the difficulty by funding the old debt and raising loans to meet the annual deficits resulting from the Spanish War. Had that course been adopted our National Debt might have dated from 1654 instead of 1692. But the machinery of credit was very imperfectly developed in England at the middle of the century;² and the Protector's financial advisers were less skilful than those of William of Orange. So the initial debt with which the Protectorate had begun its career had been regularly swollen by annual increments till it had become an imminent and pressing danger of the State.

All that could be done to lessen the expenditure was to reduce the number of ships at sea, and to diminish to a limited extent the number of the army. But without money to pay off the seamen and the disbanded soldiers this course was practically impossible, and money in any sufficient quantity could only be obtained in one way. 'How that will be done without the help of Parliament I protest I know not,' said Thurloe; and again, speaking of the various expedients suggested for raising funds, he concluded, 'The real supplies must be by Parliament.'³ Fleetwood echoed the same

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Speech ii., vol. ii. 357, ed. Lomas.

² See the remarks of Dr. Shaw on the methods of raising money prevalent in the reign of Charles II (*Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, 1667-8, p. viii.; 1669-72, p. xxxvi).

³ Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, April 20 and April 27. Thurloe, vii. 84, 99.

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conclusion. 'I confess,' he wrote, 'I know not what will become of us, unless the Parliament will suddenly answer our occasion. I do believe we spend as little of the State's moneys, but upon public occasions, as ever any did; but the truth is our expenses and occasions for moneys are extraordinary and we cannot with safety retrench them.'¹

No sooner was the old Parliament dismissed than rumours of the calling of a new one began to circulate. At first, however, the report ran that an assembly of notables would be used as a substitute—'a grand council of optimates' something like that which had developed into the Little Parliament.² Then, to the general satisfaction, this report was contradicted. The coming assembly was to be a real Parliament 'of real Lords and Commons.' It was to be 'called and constituted according to the ancient rights of the nation in the late King's time.' The changes in the system of representation which had been embodied in the Instrument of Government were to be abandoned, since that constitution was now superseded by the Petition and Advice. 'The ancient boroughs and cities' would once more have members of their own, and the representatives of Ireland and Scotland would be excluded. In the Upper House 'the peers of the nation that have not forfeited their rights' would sit side by side with the new peers the Protector had created.³ Another step back towards the old constitution of the land was to be taken.

¹ Fleetwood to Henry Cromwell, May 24. *Ib.* vii. 144; cf. p. 100.

² See the letter of February 4-14 in which Bordeaux narrated the dissolution to Mazarin (Guizot, ii. 586). This was intercepted and copied by Thurloe (vi. 778). Compare Hartlib's letter to Pell (Vaughan, ii. 442, 444).

³ See Waynwright's letters, February 12 and February 19. *Sixth Report, Hist. MSS. Comm.*, p. 442. Apparently this exclusion of the Irish and Scottish members was to be only temporary. No provision had been made for their inclusion by the latest constitution. 'By the Petition and Advice Irish and

In reality matters were not yet so far advanced as people thought. A struggle was going on in the Protector's Council, and its issue was still undecided. One party, headed by Desborough, thought it the moment to appeal to the power of the sword and to raise money by force. Fleetwood, it was believed, backed Desborough in this, and both were in correspondence with Lambert, who, though out of place, still kept great influence amongst the soldiers.¹ But the moderate party proved strong enough to defeat the violent one, and Fleetwood, at all events, came round to the idea of trying parliamentary ways. 'I am glad,' wrote Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, on February 24, 'to hear that as well non-legal as contra-legal ways of raising money are not hearkened to. Now Lambert is removed, the odium in such things would fall near his Highness. Errors to raising money are the compendious ways to cause a general discontent; for whereas other things are the concernment of some, this is of all—therefore I hope God of His mercy will not lead us into temptation.'²

This decision made a recourse to Parliament unavoidable; and Henry held that it was necessary to prepare for it by purging the army and reconstituting the Council. Both required it, but in the case of the former it was indispensable. 'The calling of a Parliament signifies nothing until the army be sufficiently modelled; for that being full of its humours makes the honest party timorous, and the other insolent in their respective proposals . . . the well framing of the army

Scots are out, till by an Act they be again restored.' *Clarke Papers*, iii. 142, 151; cf. Thurloe, vii.; Burton *Diary*, ii. 138.

¹ Thurloe, vi. 790, 819, 841, 858.

² *Ib.* vi. 821. "Il n'y a que la levée d'argent sans l'approbation du Parlement qui puisse le choquer," says Bordeaux, speaking of the temper of the people' (Guizot, ii. 589).

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would insensibly temper and keep steady the Parliament, which, no doubt, would provide well enough for a council.' As the Council was now composed, the civil and the military parties were too equally balanced in it: 'where great things, as now, are to be done, a bare balance or equilibrium will not serve.' The hour had come for action. 'We have ebbd and flowed long enough already. 'Tis now time that affairs should run one way or other in a quick current, and if God so please, to settlement.'¹

Nevertheless the delay which Henry Cromwell deprecated still continued. The questions at issue were 'tossed up and down amongst committees of several sorts,' but when they came before the Council as a whole that body seemed incapable of deciding. 'They incline to a parliament,' wrote Thurloe on March 30, 'if they can agree what to ask the parliament, and what to submit unto that, shall be done by them and his Highness.'² The difficulty was this impossibility of agreement 'upon the things which are to be transacted in Parliament.' 'If you ask,' he said in another letter, 'what are the difficulties of coming to those resolutions, I answer I know none but the fears in some honest men that they will settle us upon some foundations; and the doubts of some others, that if those fears still prevail, and so disappoint a settlement, that then a parliament will ruin us.'³ The question of kingship cast its shadow over all their deliberations.

¹ Henry Cromwell to Lord Broghil, March 10, 1657. Thurloe, vi. 858. In another letter he said: 'I trust his Highness will bring the army to such a state, as that there may be no danger of them whilst his friends in parliament are hammering out our settlement.' *Ib.* vi. 820. 'Tis not enough that the army be obedient, but that the Council, whose ministers and executioners they are, be prudent and well affected.' Henry Cromwell to Lord Fauconberg, February 17, 1658. Thurloe, vi. 810.

² Thurloe, vii. 38.

³ *Ib.* vii. 99.

Outside the Council most men thought it certain that Cromwell would, in a few weeks or months, take the title of King. The only doubt was whether he would assume it before Parliament met, which it was thought by some would facilitate his dealings with that body,¹ or whether he would wait till Parliament renewed the offer. 'Our state here is for a king and none fitter for it than his Highness,' wrote James Waynwright to Richard Bradshaw on March 12. 'The army and city are resolved to gratify his desire, and in that point are resolved to live and die with him.' In a second letter he added: 'Perhaps in a very short time we shall crown his Highness King of Great Britain.'² Foreign ambassadors reported the coming event to their courts. 'It is certain,' wrote Bordeaux, 'that the re-establishment of royalty is determined on. A large part of the officers have already supported it, recognising that it is the only way to assure the peace of the nation and to extract money from it. All persons of quality wish this change, and only the inferior officers of the army seem opposed to it.'³ Bernardi wrote to the same effect to the Genoese senate.⁴ Nor was it only in private letters and diplomatic correspondence that this expectation showed itself. In May there was great talk in London of the preparations being made for the coronation: it was said that the two caps of crimson and purple

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¹ 'La convocation du Parlement passe pour certaine. On ne parle pas moins positivement de la Royauté, et mesme l'on veut qu'elle précéderait l'assemblée de ce corps afin que les seigneurs anciens fassent moins de scrupule de s'y trouver.' Bordeaux, April 12-22. *R.O. Transcripts*.

² *Sixth Report, Historical MSS. Comm.*, p. 443.

³ 'La resolution est prise de restablir la royauté, et que desja grande partie des officiers y donnent les mains recognoissant que c'est le seul moyen d'asseurer le repos de la nation et d'en tirer de l'argent. Toutes les personnes de qualité souhaitent ce changement, et il n'y a que les officiers subalternes de l'armée qui paroissent y estre contraires.' March 8-18, *R.O. Transcripts*. See also the letter of March 25, printed by Guizot, *Cromwell*, ii. 589.

⁴ Prayer, *Oliviero Cromwell*, pp. 471, 478.

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velvet worn only by princes 'were being made up by order of the Master of the Wardrobe.'¹

May passed by and no Parliament was summoned. The Royalist plot, the campaign in Flanders, and other pieces of business consumed the time of Council, and retarded the discussion of the great question.² The military party, perhaps to gain time, and certainly to prevent a return to kingship, proposed a reconciliation with the commonwealths-men, and apparently suggested that Vane, Ludlow and Rich should be summoned to the Council.³ 'Our affairs,' wrote Thurloe on June 1, 'stand much at one stay; some discourses have been this week about a settlement, and how to prepare for the coming of a parliament. . . . I cannot find the minds of men so disposed as may give the nation the hopes of such a settlement as is wished for; and truly I think that nothing but some unexpected providence can remove the present difficulties.'⁴ It was evident now that no Parliament could meet till September, on account of the harvest.⁵

Towards the end of the month (i.e. before June 22), the consideration what was fit to be done in the next Parliament was referred to a committee of nine. It consisted of five soldiers and four civilians: Fleetwood, Desborough, Whalley, Goffe, and Cooper represented the military element; Thurloe, Fiennes, Pickering, and Philip Jones, the civil.⁶ The committee met daily, and

¹ *Clarke Papers*, ii. 150.

² Thurloe, vii. 83, 100, 158.

³ *Ib.* vii. 154. This is known from Henry Cromwell's letter of June 2, 1658. Unluckily Thurloe's letter which called forth his remarks has not survived. See Mr. Catterall's remarks: *American Historical Review*, ix. 62.

⁴ Thurloe, vii. 153.

⁵ *Ib.* vii. 159, 176.

⁶ The list is given by Thurloe, vii. 192. Sir Gilbert Pickering was Lord Chamberlain, Philip Jones, Comptroller of the Household. For Henry Cromwell's comments on the list, see Thurloe, vii. 218.

the first subject discussed was how to be secured against the Cavalier party. Moderate men like Thurloe were convinced that there must be 'some effectual provision made against their attempts for the future.' These annual conspiracies could not be tolerated.¹ Two plans were put forward in the committee. One was to impose upon the Cavaliers and their families one oath abjuring Charles II, his title and his family, and another to be faithful to the Protector. The penalty of refusal was to be the forfeiture of two-thirds of their estates. 'This was thought a good way to distinguish those who are implacable from those who are willing to submit and come in (supposing also a good standing army besides).' But the proposed oath was rejected, 'because it is thought probable they will all take it, and none of them keep it.' The second proposal was to lay a tax on the whole Royalist party promiscuously for maintaining a force to keep them down. This was a return to the principles of the decimation tax, but now instead of taking a tenth of their income one-half was suggested. The proposal was too extravagantly impolitic and oppressive to be accepted. 'This,' said Thurloe, 'will not down with all the nine, and least of all will it be swallowed by the Parliament, who will not be persuaded to punish both nocent and innocent without distinction.' His own aim, and he was very right, was to utilise the feeling of satisfaction produced by the successes in Flanders as the basis of a policy of conciliation. 'The honour of these victories,' he wrote, 'certainly belongs to the English nation, and not to any party therein; and God favours the whole land, and would have men do so too. I know he hath a people of his own which he esteems more than all mankind besides; he loves the tents of Judah better than he

¹ Thurloe, vii. 84, 99, 101.

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 XVII him therein. But then we must not narrow that
 1658 interest, and fix upon men only of my opinion, or of our particular way, but make it comprehensive of all the saints; yea, do good justice and right to all; and when things come to be managed with this spirit I shall look for settlement, and a blessing with it, and not before; least of all while wrath and discontent steer affairs, which I am sure never yet wrought the righteousness of God, nor never will.¹

Henry Cromwell, while less Scriptural in his language, agreed that conciliation was the more statesmanlike course. 'I like well your comprehensive principle, to do good justice and right to all. But I think such as would lay a burden promiscuously upon all the old Cavalier party do not own that rule; and I wonder those who can dispense with it do not rather advise by a total ruin to secure that party, than provoke and necessitate to a perpetual enmity such in whose hand you leave power enough to destroy you, when you have made their cause just. Which nevertheless I do not think an adequate remedy; for I suppose the most considerable party of the late King's interest are the sons of such Cavaliers as are now dead, or of such as have formerly been of your party, and by your narrowness not obliged, or thrust or kept out from a compliance with you. How will you provide against these?

'I like the test by an oath much better, because it may be comprehensive of all; but to what shall men swear?

'Have you any settlement? Does not your peace depend upon his Highness's life, and upon his peculiar skill and faculty and personal interest in the army as

¹ Thurloe, vii. 192. Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, June 22, 1658. The question had been discussed before. See Thurloe, vii. 38.

now modelled and commanded? I say beneath the immediate hand of God (if I know anything of the affairs in England) there is no other reason why we are not in blood at this day.' ¹

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Nothing more is known of the deliberations of the committee. It made its report to the Protector on July 8; and very lame and impotent were the conclusions to which it came. Charged to propose some definite settlement of the great question which was in every one's mind, it evaded the question altogether. The majority voted a resolution that it was a matter of indifference whether the succession to the supreme magistracy should be elective or hereditary, and in order to satisfy the minority added, that it was desirable 'to have it continued elective.' ² The maintenance of the compromise embodied in the Petition and Advice, 'that is, that the chief magistrate should always name his successor,' appeared the easiest way out of the difficulty. In practice this would give the nation no further security for a peaceful transmission of power than it possessed already. ³ The leaders of the army, it seems to have been held, would endeavour to impose their choice on the Protector, instead of leaving him to exercise his right of nomination freely. 'I fear,' said Thurloe, 'the word "desirable" will be made "necessary," if ever it come upon the trial.'

The Protector saw plainly that this proposal for the settlement of the kingdom settled nothing. 'His Highness,' wrote Thurloe, 'finding he can have no advice from those he most expected it from, saith he will take his own resolutions; and that he cannot any

¹ Thurloe, vii. 218.

² Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, July 13, 1658. Thurloe, vii. 269.

³ For the different views on this point embodied in the various constitutions of the period, see article xxxii. of the Instrument, and article i. of the Petition and Advice (Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*. pp. 415, 428, 448).

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longer satisfy himself to sit still, and make himself guilty of the loss of all the honest party, and of the nation itself.' ¹ Hitherto Cromwell had remained passive, or, as he would have said, 'in a waiting posture.' It was always his custom to allow a political situation to develop itself before he took decisive action, and to avoid premature intervention. It had seemed possible that, if time were given them, the two parties in his council might come to some agreement; and moreover the constitution bound him to exercise his power by the advice of his council, a stipulation which he always endeavoured to observe. Above all things, however, he wished to prevent a division amongst the supporters of his government. His attitude was rather that of a party leader than an autocratic ruler. The supporters of kingship might be right and its opponents wrong, but if they were divided they would both be in the wrong; they would be playing the game of the Royalists and the anarchists. As in the crisis of 1657, so now he was anxious to conciliate the old friends who had conscientious objections to monarchy; too anxious, thought some of his servants. 'I have long wished,' said Thurloe, 'that his Highness would proceed according to his own satisfaction, and not so much consider others; who truly are to be indulged in everything but where the being of the nations is concerned.' ²

Forced by the disagreement of his councillors to decide for himself, it is probable that Cromwell would have decided in favour of kingship. There are indications in the letters of Fauconberg and Henry Cromwell which, though not conclusive, seem to show that the Protector had made up his mind to accept the crown. 'King is resolved on, but when uncertain,'

¹ Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, July 13, 1653. Thurloe, vii. 269.

² *Ib.* vii. 269.

wrote Fauconberg to his brother-in-law on April 20. Henry Cromwell, in urging Lord Broghil to abandon the idea of retiring from public life, referred to 'his Highness's brave resolutions not to be cozened again,' and his promise 'to prepare the army for due compliance,' as proofs that the settlement Broghil desired would shortly be effected.¹ Moreover, the political arguments in favour of the acceptance of the crown were stronger than they had been a year ago. A parliament was absolutely necessary, and it was certain that a parliament would renew the offer made in 1657. Except by compliance with its wishes the government could not hope to obtain the financial support needed; and the government's necessities were infinitely greater than they had been a year ago. In the next place, the opposition in the army was now much weaker, since a certain number of the higher officers had been won over, and Lambert, the real leader of the opponents of kingship, was out of place. Finally the Puritan party outside Parliament was declaring in favour of a return to monarchy as the only means of effecting a permanent settlement of the nation. The addresses of the grand jurors of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and other counties made the trend of public opinion clear.²

Whatever Cromwell's decision may have been, he kept his secret to himself. Since Parliament could not meet till September or October, he could take a few days for deliberation. A fortnight after the report of the committee had been presented he had given no public

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¹ Thurloe, vii. 72, 85, 115. Unhappily the letters of Broghil to Henry Cromwell have perished: we have only the answers of the latter. There is, possibly, some ambiguity in the remarks of the Protector to Broghil, but there is no doubt that Fauconberg, when he writes 'K,' means 'King' or 'Kingship.'

² Thurloe, vii. 357; *Mercurius Politicus*, Aug. 12-19, 1658; *Public Intelligencer*, Aug. 9-16, 1658; Baillie, iii. 360.

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intimation of his intentions. 'His Highness's constant residence at Hampton Court,' wrote Thurloe, 'and the sickness of the Lady Elizabeth, which hath been and is a great affliction to him, hath hindered the consideration of these matters which my former letters mentioned, that very little or nothing hath been done therein for these fourteen days; which makes all men to stand at a gaze, and to doubt very much what will be the issue; and I think they fear more than they need.' ¹

Besides his daughter's illness and this question of the settlement of England there were other problems—foreign problems—which pressed for his attention and occupied his thoughts. The union of all the Protestant powers, which was the goal of the Protector's policy, was seriously jeopardised. Cromwell was exceedingly anxious to keep on good terms with the Dutch. 'There is no state,' wrote Thurloe to the English ambassador at the Hague, 'that his Highness would more willingly confer and advise with concerning his foreign designs and the common good.' ² De Witt responded very cordially on behalf of his masters, but, as we have seen, there were many causes of dispute; and though Downing's energy and diplomatic skill affected an agreement on some of them so long as the war with Spain continued, it was inevitable that the strained relations between England and the Dutch should continue too. The underhand assistance which the Dutch were accused of giving to the Spaniards, and the English exercise of the right of search, caused mutual ill feeling. Admiral Montagu, who was stopping ship off the coast of Flanders and searching their cargoes for contraband of war, was furious against the Dutch neutrality. 'I think,' he

¹ Thurloe vii. 295. July 27.

² Ib. vii. 203, 245.

wrote to Thurloe, 'that, unless by treaty or forces you prevail for better deportment and friendship from the Dutch, a war (if you could tell how to support it) were better than a peace with them. If all Flanders were ours what signifies it, when their whole country serves for a nest to shelter rogues that interrupt our trading? They receive the enemy's men-of-war in with their prizes, and suffer them to sell them, and refit and man themselves, and to sea again, and convoy all the Spaniards money and goods to Flanders.'¹

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Besides this danger of a breach between England and Holland there was the still more imminent danger of a renewal of war in northern Europe. 'A war,' wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, 'is very likely to fall out between the Swede and the Elector of Brandenburg, and that will draw on a war also between him and the Dutch. So that in appearance things stand as ill stated to the Protestant cause as can be, it being very probable that they will be involved in war one with another; and, in the meantime, the house of Austria, Poland, &c., do not only unite among themselves, but draw in some of the Protestant party into their confederacy, as Brandenburg, and I fear the Dutch also.'²

The precise danger Thurloe feared did not arise—at least not immediately—but what happened was just as detrimental to the Protestant cause. The great achievement of Cromwell's diplomacy during the year had been the negotiation of the treaty between Denmark and Sweden. But now, little more than six months after its signature, that treaty was suddenly torn up, and the work of the mediators frustrated. This was the doing of the King of Sweden.

¹ July 21, 1658. Thurloe, vii. 284.

² July 20, 1658. Thurloe, vii. 283.

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The peace of Roeskilde, like most of the successes of Charles X, was rather dazzling than solid. The military forces of Denmark had been beaten in the struggle; but the other supports of the Danish power, its alliances, had hardly yet come into operation. The question was whether Poland and Brandenburg and the Empire, the three allies of Denmark, would recognise the facts which had led to the conclusion of that treaty; and still more whether the Dutch, the friends of Denmark, though not its actual allies against Sweden, would do so. Would they sit still while Sweden closed the Sound so that against its will no foreign fleet could, in future, enter the Baltic, allowing thereby the Baltic coastlands to lie without defence against the Swedish power, and the whole of West Prussia to fall into the hands of Sweden? ¹

The Dutch felt their interests more threatened by this than those of any other power. They did not greatly object to the cession of a few provinces by Denmark to Sweden; but if the Sound was closed to their men-of-war, Sweden would be able to burden their Baltic trade as it pleased. For this reason they ordered a strong fleet to be got ready for sea, and Van Beuninghen, the Dutch ambassador at Copenhagen, used all his endeavours to obstruct the negotiations for the execution of the treaty, to encourage the Danish King to resistance, and especially to protest against the article about the closing of the Sound.² More and more it became evident to the Danes that this article was a death-blow to their independence. The Danes were well enough inclined

¹ Erdmannsdörffer, i. 320.

² Wicquefort, ii. 500-2. *English Historical Review*, vii. pp. 730, 735, 737. Meadowe complained that the conclusion of the treaty for the satisfaction of Sweden's ally, the Duke of Holstein, had been retarded for two months by the influence of Van Beuninghen, whom he termed 'the veriest *boutfeu* in the world.'

to follow the counsels of the Dutch ambassador; they felt sure of powerful allies if they began the war again, but their own power was too exhausted and too broken for them to take the first step. 'I have left Denmark,' wrote Meadowe on May 31, 1658, 'a poor, divided, distracted kingdom, without head and without heart, and my conjectures fail me if in process of time that crown be not united with Sweden.'¹

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Sweden, therefore, not Denmark, began the second Danish war. Charles X found himself in such a situation that he must necessarily plunge into another war, and the only thing doubtful was against which of his enemies he should turn. He was still at war with Brandenburg, Poland, and Austria. His political position was so insecure that he could not think of breaking up the great army he had laboriously collected. As little could he maintain it in his own country and upon his own resources. It was now living at the cost of Denmark, but with the execution of the peace he would be obliged to remove it; and he needed an enemy's country at whose expense he could feed it and pay it.² He might turn his arms against Poland again, but Poland was poor; his army loathed the idea of campaigning in that distant and dangerous country, and the King himself was inclined to make peace with Poland if it was in any way possible. He preferred the plan of turning his weapons against Germany by attacking Pomerania and Brandenburg, in order to chastise the Elector for his desertion, and then perhaps falling upon the hereditary dominions of Austria.³

In the summer of 1658 all Europe took it for

¹ *English Historical Review*, vii. p. 737. Meadowe, p. 80.

² *Ib.* vii. p. 733.

³ Philippson, *Der Grosse Kurfürst*, i. 287.

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granted that Charles X was on the point of attacking the Elector of Brandenburg.¹ Act after act showed his determined hostility. He stirred up Neuburg to attack the Rhenish possessions of Brandenburg, and incited Magdeburg to refuse homage to the Elector and to place itself under the protection of Sweden. He demanded from the Elector free passage for the Swedish troops through the dominions of Brandenburg and the fortresses of Memel and Pillau, permission to raise volunteers in the Elector's territory, and the renunciation of his alliance with Poland and Austria. Nothing less than the military and political subordination of Brandenburg to Sweden would satisfy him.² The King backed his demands by sending 8000 men to Polish Prussia, and by other threatening movements of his troops.³ The Elector, prepared for the worst, raised his army to 20,000 men, and began to fortify Berlin.⁴ He also appealed to his allies; and in May, 1658, the States-General resolved to send a fleet to the Baltic for the protection of Dantzic and the dominions of the Elector.⁵

Every attempt to compose the quarrel proved ineffectual. Charles X refused an audience to the ambassadors of the Elector, when they came to him at Flensburg.⁶ The College of Electors sent four envoys to offer mediation, and to desire the King not to march his army into the territories of the Empire, but they were slightly dismissed.⁷ The French, too, did their best to mediate. Blondel, Mazarin's agent at Berlin,

¹ Carlson, i. 304.

² Philippson, i. 293.

³ *Ib.* i. 295.

⁴ *Ib.* i. 296.

⁵ *Ib.* i. 298. Jean de Witt, *Brieven*, v. 544.

⁶ Thurloe, vii. 210, 227; Philippson, i. 301; Meadowe, p. 78; Thurloe, vii. 280.

⁷ Meadowe, pp. 77, 78; Thurloe, vii. 247; *English Historical Review*, vii. pp. 738, 739.

strove hard to reconcile Sweden and Brandenburg, so that both might serve the interests of France against Austria, but all in vain. To Terlon, another French agent, the King put the matter very plainly. 'If I were as powerful as France and had the wealth of the King your master, I would willingly follow your advice. But in the position I am in, and believing that I have a long war before me, I should be sorry if the Elector were my friend. For I regard his country as good quarters for my troops, and could not use it for that purpose if he was on good terms with me. Besides, this Elector is too powerful; it is necessary to set bounds to his ambition, which every one does not know as well as I do, and to oppose the schemes of a prince who will some day make himself dreaded unless care is taken to prevent it.'¹

The Protector also tried to mediate. We have seen the failure of Jephson's mission to Berlin, in April. In July, Cromwell sent orders to Downing to offer to the agent of Brandenburg at the Hague the mediation of England between the King and the Elector. The Elector answered that he would be grateful for the good offices of the Protector in the matter, but that there must be a general peace including Poland, not a separate one between Brandenburg and Sweden, and that there must be no marching of the Swedish army through his territories in Germany.² To Meadowe, who had just been appointed to reside at the court of Charles X, that King spoke as freely about his relations with Brandenburg as he had done to Terlon. He said 'that he could not govern himself by the advice of England and France, countries that abounded with money and all things necessary to their proper subsistence,

¹ Terlon, *Mémoires*, p. 133.

² *Urkunden und Aktenstücke*, vii. 132; Thurloe, vii. 270.

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whereas his support consisted in the conservasion of his army, and that army must maintain itself, which as matters stood could not be unless the Elector of Brandenburg were made sure either as a friend or an enemy.' ¹ It was evident that the King was highly incensed against the Elector. He expressed his willingness to a separate treaty with Poland, but refused to treat with Brandenburg and Poland jointly ; to separate his enemies rather than to come to terms with them seemed to be his object.

Such was the condition of affairs at the beginning of July, 1658 ; but about the end of the month the King changed his plans altogether. The negotiations for the execution of the treaty of Roeskilde met with ever new obstacles and delays. One of the stipulations of the treaty had been a strict and intimate alliance between the two crowns by a league mutually defensive. For, as Meadowe saw, the King of Sweden, having many enemies still before him, was obliged 'to double bolt and by all possible means secure the back door of Denmark.' ² King Frederick, encouraged by the attitude of Holland, began to pluck up hope and think there was some chance of undoing what had been done. King Charles saw more and more clearly that the recent peace was not likely to give him all he had expected to get from it. Denmark was not entirely in his power ; and it was to be expected that King Frederick would take the next opportunity chance offered to set aside the treaty by the help of Holland and other allies, and try the fortune of war against Sweden once more. In addition to this, the question of the imperial election was now settled ; since the Archduke had been elected Emperor there was not much to be gained by carrying

¹ Meadowe to Thurloe, July 12, 1658. *English Historical Review*, vii. p. 739.

² Meadowe, p. 73.

the war into Germany ; on the other hand, the League of the Rhine, now about to be concluded, covered Sweden's rear and protected at least a part of her possessions in the empire. For these reasons Charles X, in July, 1658, determined to declare the treaty of Roeskilde null and void on account of its non-execution, and to begin the war against Denmark again.¹

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As early as June, 1658, Meadowe reported to his government that the delays of the Danish King to complete and carry out the treaty were disgusting the Swedes and awaking old jealousies. 'The Swedish maxim,' said he, 'is that the Dane will never want the will to do them hurt, and therefore they must take away his power. They thought the terms of the peace too favourable to Denmark. I know,' he added, 'several of the Swedish senators at their convention at Gottenburg, besides the military men of the army, were displeased that his Majesty had so treated away an opportunity the fairest that ever prince had, and upon the justest quarrel too, of possessing himself entirely of that kingdom ; and some reflections were cast upon me upon that account, which makes the Swedes more rigorous in exacting the utmost of the conditions agreed, and I wish they do no more.'²

But Meadowe was not aware that the King of Sweden's intention went much further than the rigorous enforcement of the treaty. Charles had made up his mind now, that if fortune was true to him he would hunt the King of Denmark from his dominions and unite Norway, Sweden, and Denmark into one Scandinavian kingdom. He had settled on the title he meant to adopt: 'King of Sweden and the Goths of Denmark,

¹ Erdmannsdörffer, i. 321. The King laid the matter before his council on July $\frac{7}{17}$, and the decisive orders were given on July $\frac{15}{25}$. Carlson, i. 307.

² *English Historical Review*, vii. p. 737.

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Norway, and the Wends.' He had settled also the form of his installation. His new subjects were to do homage to him in Scania, he wearing the Swedish crown on his head, and with the Danish one lying before him on a table. He had determined even the lines of the constitution by which the new state was to be governed.¹

The preparations of Charles were made with the greatest secrecy. His object was confided only to Marshal Wrangel and a few others. Everything depended on one decisive stroke, to be delivered before any one of his enemies could intervene, so that the first they would know of it would be the accomplished fact. This stroke was to be the conquest of the Danish capital, and, if possible, the capture of the King himself.²

Accordingly, the Swedish King collected his fleet and his army at Kiel. It was believed that he was preparing an expedition to Livonia or Pomerania. Colberg, a port in Pomerania, or Pillau in Prussia, both belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg, were named as the point of attack.³ On August 15, the very day of the signature of the League of the Rhine, the Swedish fleet put to sea from Kiel. It consisted of eleven men-of-war and sixty transports, and bore the King himself and about 8000 men. The original plan of Charles X was to sail directly to Copenhagen, land his force, and take the city by a *coup de main*. The opposition of his counsel of war induced him to change his plan, and the army landed at Kōrsor, on the west coast of Zealand, on August 18. Kōrsor, however, was some sixty English miles from Copenhagen, and this gave the Danes time to prepare for resistance. When the

¹ Erdmannsdörffer, i. 322; Carlson, p. 309; Philippon, i. 314.

² Cf. Thurloe, vii. 345.

³ Thurloe, vii. 338, 340.

Swedish King appeared before Copenhagen on August 21, he found the suburbs in flames and the population of Copenhagen in arms. Under the circumstances an assault seemed too risky to be attempted, and he was obliged to sit down to a regular siege.

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Charles sent a letter to Cromwell explaining his reasons for attacking Denmark and justifying his action.¹ As in 1655, people believed in Europe that the Protector had been secretly informed of the King of Sweden's intentions and was his accomplice.² The Swedes circulated everywhere the report that the Protector would send twenty ships to the Sound to help them against the Dutch. It was known that the Dutch would intervene to protect the Danes. Feeling ran high in Holland. 'No man almost dares now name a Swede at Amsterdam without indignation,' reported Downing.³ As soon as the news came the Dutch resolved to send a fleet under Opdam, with 6000 soldiers on board it, to the defence of Copenhagen.⁴ Yet it was generally believed in England that this succour would come too late. 'The King of Sweden,' wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell on August 27, 'hath invaded the Dane, and very probably hath Copenhagen by this time.'⁵ Meadowe judged that the Dane would be 'in all probability utterly lost.' . . . If Denmark be lost Norway will follow the same fate, and then his Majesty of Sweden may abbreviate his long title and write himself King of the North.'⁶

¹ Meadowe, pp. 82-9. Carlson, i. 311. The English government received an account of it first, apparently from Downing at the Hague. His first letter is dated August 27. Thurloe, vii. 339, 345, 352, 359. Meadowe wrote on August 16 (i.e. August 16-26), but one does not know when his letter arrived. *English Historical Review*, vii. 741; Manley, *History of the late Wars in Denmark*, 1670, p. 10; *Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 799, 814.

² Thurloe, vii. 343, 348.

³ *Ib.* vii. 348.

⁴ *Ib.* vii. 359, 370, 379.

⁵ *Ib.* vii. 362, 364.

⁶ *English Historical Review*, vii. pp. 741, 742; cf. Chéruel, p. 357.

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Whether Sweden or Denmark prevailed, Cromwell's policy had gone to ruin. The two Protestant powers, whose quarrel he had sought to reconcile and whose power he had endeavoured to balance, were once more in arms; and the possibility of a breach between England and Holland was enormously increased. In the Protector's survey of foreign affairs during August, 1658, the only satisfactory feature was the continued success of the Anglo-French forces in Flanders, and the prospect of a speedy and triumphant conclusion of the Spanish war. On the other hand there was always the possibility that the gain of Dunkirk might be balanced by the loss of Jamaica. Cromwell knew that the governors of the adjacent Spanish colonies were straining every nerve to reconquer it, that one serious effort had been made in 1657, and that a second effort, in which a greater force was to be employed, was taking place during the present summer. By 1657 the new English colony planted in 1655 was at last beginning to thrive. Numerically its population was low. The New Englanders had refused the Protector's invitations to transplant themselves.¹ Barbadoes—which, according to Governor Searle, had supplied some 4000 men, most of whom had perished—sent no more settlers. On the other hand 1200 persons had removed from Nevis to Jamaica, and about 300 from the Bermudas.²

The best sign was that the work of plantation was beginning in earnest. 'We have more at this time planted,' wrote Colonel Doyley in July, 1657, 'than ever the Spaniard had at one time in this island.' Officers who had a little capital at their disposal to hire labour began to see that profitable crops of sugar and

¹ Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 455, 457.

² Thurloe, v. 652.

tobacco could be raised, and to breed sheep and cattle.¹

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The danger now was not so much starvation as the reconquest of the island by the Spaniards. A certain number of Spaniards still remained in the north of the island, taking refuge in the mountains whenever they were attacked. More dangerous were the negroes, once slaves of the Spaniards but now practically free. They laid ambuscades for the soldiers, and cut off at one time forty of them as they were 'carelessly going about their quarters.' These attacks made the work of planting dangerous, but it was difficult to put a stop to them. 'Such is the enemy amongst us,' wrote Colonel Barrington to his brother, 'that they will not stand a shot, but so unknown are their hiding-places that we cannot find them out; and their custom is such that when any of our armed men meet them accidentally they fly for it. . . . Send me a couple of whelps of the bloodhound strain, for I can deem no way like unto this to clear the black rogues from this place.'² Letters intercepted and prisoners taken during 1656 made it known that these local opponents would speedily be reinforced by strong bodies of Spanish soldiers from Cuba and Porto Rico; for the King of Spain was bent on regaining Jamaica.³

The English officers who successively governed the colony had grave doubts of their capacity to hold it against an attack in force. 'If neither soldiers nor planters from the other islands do come hither,' wrote Doyley in April, 1656, 'we cannot long keep the place, the advantages of the enemy being able to poise the

¹ See Colonel Francis Barrington's letter (Thurloe, vi. 376, 390), and that of Lewis Assheton (*MSS. of Lord Kenyon*, p. 66).

² Thurloe, iv. 594, 711, 749; v. 481. *Seventh Report, Historical MSS. Comm.*, p. 575.

³ Thurloe, v. 684; vi. 130, 180, 211, 540.

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 XVII Brayne's report in April, 1657, was no more hopeful.
 1657 'The soldiers are forced to neglect the strictness of their martial duty by rambling abroad to seek a livelihood; so that if the enemy from Spain should attempt us in this condition, I greatly fear the soldiers would make but weak resistance, their spirits have been so dejected by the want of necessary food and raiment. But many of the officers seem resolved (through the assistance of God) to sell their lives as dear as they can.'¹ Major-General Brayne died on September 2, 1657, and was succeeded by Colonel Edward Doyley, a soldier of experience and resolution, popular with the soldiers and well fitted for the task before him. In the summer of 1657 two bodies of Spaniards, each about 500 strong, landed on the north coast of Jamaica. One party, which had posted itself at St. Anne, was attacked and driven from its position by Major Richard Stevens. Their arms and ammunition were taken, but the soldiers themselves escaped. 'Finding the vanity of following them in the woods and mountains we left them,' says Doyley's letter. On the return of the party under Stevens, Doyley learnt that three hundred more Spaniards had fortified themselves at a place he called 'The Chareras,' over against Cuba, where they meant to establish their magazine and their headquarters. Doyley at once shipped a few hundred men on board a small man-of-war, and set sail for the north coast. On October 30 he landed his men about six miles from the Spanish position, and marched upon it. By this time the English had learnt something of bush fighting; and an attempted ambuscade in the woods was defeated with more loss to the assailants than the assailed. The fort was then attacked. 'Our party,' says Doyley, 'found

¹ Thurloe, iv. 711; vi. 212.

them very well prepared with matches lighted in the stockades (for that is the manner of their fortification), with great trees and flankers. Ours, leaving a third for a reserve, without any gradual approaches presently ran up to their work, and with their muskets possessed as much advantage as the enemy (the work being not lined); between whom for the space of three quarters of an hour was a stiff dispute, till some of ours with the help of hatchets, which they were ordered to carry, made a breach and entered. As soon as the enemy saw that, they betook themselves to run over the rocks, leaping into the sea and shifting for themselves, though the officers endeavoured to rally them.' About 120 of the Spaniards were killed, and some prisoners taken, while Doyley's party lost but four men killed and ten wounded. But the greatest loss to the Spaniards was the capture of their provisions and ammunition. Those who escaped were reduced to great extremities. There was little food to be obtained in the woods; the negroes refused them help; some half-starved fugitives gave themselves up to the English.¹

The news of the successful repulse of the Spanish invasion reached England in April, 1658. In announcing it Doyley told the Council of State that 800 men were shortly to be expected from Cuba to reinforce those he had just defeated. The colonists could subsist themselves, if they were industrious, but they needed provisions from home in order to supply the soldiers sent on these expeditions into the hills and woods. Above all, the soldiers must be sent shoes. The Spaniards,

¹ See Doyley's letter of February 3, 1658, printed in *Mercurius Politicus*, April 8-15, 1658. The sites of Doyley's two victories are a little difficult to fix. Rio Novo is, no doubt, the Rio Nuevo Fort in St. Mary's Precinct shown in Moll's map of Jamaica. The Chareras is not marked. There are, however, two bays each called Don Christopher's Cove in that map, one in St. Anne's, the other in St. Mary's Precinct. It is possible that these names are derived from those of Don Christopher Sasi Arnoldo, the Spanish governor and general.

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‘if they come before we receive shoes, will come to our quarters, for we cannot go to them.’ His men were penniless and could not buy shoes for themselves, even if they were to be had in Jamaica. ‘How can it be thought a private soldier can give four shillings for a pair of ammunition shoes, that never received so much this three years?’ In a second letter he added that they were equally badly off for clothes, and looked ‘more like savages than Englishmen.’¹

In May, 1658, Doyley learnt that thirty companies of Spanish foot had landed at Rio Novo, on the north coast.² A council was called to consider whether it would be best to attack them at once, or to wait until they were weakened and diminished by the distempers of the country. This was soon settled: ‘the exceeding desire of the officers and soldiers to be doing cut off all debates.’ Doyley set sail with 750 men on June 11, and effected a landing within half cannon shot of the Spanish fort. It was lucky that the Spanish artillery was badly served; for the fort was so high above the sea that the guns of Doyley’s men of war could do very little damage. The next day was spent in reconnoitring the position and making ladders. There was a river in front of the fort; its works seemed to be strong, were armed with six guns, and were garrisoned by a force superior in number to his own. Doyley’s strategy was equal to the occasion. ‘I ordered,’ he says, ‘two of our ships to set sail to leeward, to persuade them we intended to stand on that side of them; the other ships to warp in

¹ Thurloe, vi. 833; vii. 499 (on emigrant’s same letter).

² The number of the Spaniards is doubtful. Eight hundred men were expected, but thirty companies landed. The Spanish general describes himself as commanding a regiment of infantry and twenty companies (Thurloe, vi. 833; vii. 261, 262). A later account says the Spaniards were 1200 in number (*Present State of Jamaica*, 1683, p. 38). No doubt those scattered in the island had joined the new forces.

as near as they could, and play on them, while we fell on the other side.' Next morning, being June 24, 'we marched, as soon as it was light, through a wood on the backside of them. About a quarter of a mile from their fort we met a party on a high hill, prepared to obstruct our going over their river, who only gave us a fruitless volley, ran to their fort, and told them all the world was coming. We climbed that hill with much ado, refreshed our weariness, and advanced. When we came in sight of their fort, we found, to our exceeding joy, that the work on that side was not finished to that height as that to the leeward. We ordered our business with our forlorn, ladders, and hand grenades, and without any further dispute received their shot, and ran up to their flankers, which in a quarter of an hour we gained. Many of them made shift to run out of the works, and ours followed their chase about three or four miles, doing execution. The seamen likewise seeing of them run along the rocks, came out with their boats, and killed many of them.' About 300 of the Spaniards were killed, and about one hundred, with six captains, taken prisoners. 'The rest,' says Doyley, 'especially the strangers, that are in the woods must of necessity perish.'¹

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These little victories removed the stain which had rested on the Jamaica forces since the failure at Hispaniola under Venables. An eye-witness of this last fight said that 'he had seen a great deal of bloody work in his time both by sea and land, but never saw any action carried on with so much cheerfulness and sweet carriage as this was,' and praised both the personal gallantry of the commander and the 'silent, cheerful obedience of the soldiers.'² Doyley sent Colonel Barry

¹ Doyley's dispatch, dated July 12, is printed in *Thurloe Papers*, vii. 260.

² *Cal. State Papers (Colonial)*, 1675-6, addenda, p. 125.

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home to bear this news to the Protector, with ten captured ensigns and the King of Spain's standard to attest it; but by the time Barry reached England neither triumph nor failure touched Cromwell more.¹

Both 1657 and 1658 were years of high mortality. In the summer and autumn of 1657 a malignant fever, which men called 'the new disease,' prevailed throughout the country districts. Twice during that period public days of fasting and prayer were ordered.² During winter the fever abated, but about April, 1658, another distemper suddenly arose, 'as if sent by some blast of the stars.' It was an epidemic of influenza, say modern physicians, and it was particularly prevalent in London; but it disappeared as quickly as it came, and a public fast on May 5 was followed by a public thanksgiving on July 21.³ In one comprehensive declaration the Protector called on the people to give thanks for the loving kindness of God, shown in the cessation of the epidemic, in the change of the weather, which had threatened in the spring to destroy all hope of a harvest, but was now fair and favourable, in the frustration of domestic conspiracies, and in the victories in Flanders.⁴ But this rejoicing was soon turned to sadness. About August the malignant fever of the last year returned and the Protector himself was attacked by it.

Cromwell's health had long been precarious. He had suffered severely from dysentery and ague during his Irish campaigns, and he had been at death's door during that in Scotland. The newsletters written during the Protectorate often mention his ill health, and the

¹ 'The messenger, Colonel Barry, found him dead, so he never had one syllable of anything that was grateful from the vastest expense and greatest design that ever was made by the English' (*Present State of Jamaica*, 1683, p. 38).

² August 21 and September 30, 1657.

³ Creighton, *History of Epidemics in Britain*, i. 568-77.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1658-9, p. 82.

postponement of an interview or the adjournment of some business which resulted therefrom. His signature, once firm and bold, but of late shaky and tremulous, was an unmistakable sign of his failing strength.¹ The weight of his public cares became more heavy, especially after the breach with his second Parliament added to his perplexities. 'Being compelled,' says one of his servants, 'to wrestle with the difficulties of his place, so well as he could without parliamentary assistance,' he 'in it met so great a burthen, as I doubt not to say it drank up his spirits (of which his natural constitution yielded a vast stock) and brought him to his grave.'²

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Private grief further increased the drain upon Cromwell's vital forces. On February 16, 1658, Robert Rich died, the husband of Cromwell's daughter Frances, 'a young nobleman of great hopes and virtues,' according to report.³ His grandfather, the Earl of Warwick, was the only one of the little group of peers, once leaders in the civil war, who was still friendly to Cromwell. In answering Cromwell's condolences, he expressed his affection for the Protector and his high admiration for his government. 'Your pious counsel,' he said, 'gives such ease to my oppressed mind, that I can scarce forbid my pen to be tedious. Only it remembers your lordship's many weighty and noble employments; which together with your prudent, heroic, and noble managing of them, I do here congratulate, as well as my grief will give me leave. Others' goodness is their own; yours

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 51, 63. *Cromwelliana*, pp. 100, 168. Michael, *Cromwell*, ii. 219. Parr, *Life of Archbishop Usher*, p. 75. Guizot, ii. 515, 531. Thurloe, vi. 817.

² Maidstone to John Winthrop. Thurloe, i. 766. Compare William Hooke's letter.

³ Thurloe, vi. 807, 820. *Cromwelliana*, p. 170. Rich is said to have died 'of the disease commonly called the King's evil.' 'His Highness,' says a newsletter, 'mourned three days in purple, as is used by persons of his quality.' One of Cromwell's nieces, Levina Whetstone, wife of Major Beke, died the same night as Rich (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 141, 142).

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is a whole country's, yea, three kingdoms', for which you justly possess interest and renown with wise and good men; virtue is a thousand escutcheons. Go on, my lord; go on happily, to love religion, to exemplify it. May your lordship long continue an instrument of use, a pattern of virtue, and a precedent of glory!'¹ These words were a valediction as well as a congratulation. On May 18 Warwick followed his grandson to the grave.

Early in the summer Mrs. Claypole, the Protector's favourite daughter, fell ill, and her illness, which was lingering and painful, was made worse by the death of her youngest son, Oliver.² To be near his daughter the Protector moved to Hampton Court, and several times during that month the Council met there to suit his convenience.³ He was out of health himself, and was taking the waters; but his indisposition was not regarded as serious, and on July 21 he and his family observed the appointed day of thanksgiving with great solemnity.⁴ On July 30 Nieupoort, the ambassador of the United Provinces, came to Hampton Court to have audience. A few words passed about the Protector's offered mediation between the Dutch and Portugal, but Cromwell pleaded indisposition, and said he would return to Whitehall next week to discuss matters further.⁵ At the beginning of August, Mrs. Claypole rallied, and her recovery seemed possible. The Protector's own health improved. 'His Highness,' wrote

¹ Quoted by Godwin, *Commonwealth*, iv. 530, from *Memoirs of the Protector by a Descendant*, p. 530.

² Thurloe, vii. 171, 177, 295.

³ *Ib.* vii. 295. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1658-9, pp. 94, 100. Bordeaux describes the Protector's illness as 'une colique pierreuse,' writing July 5-15 (*R.O. Transcripts*).

⁴ *Mercurius Politicus*, July 15-22, p. 386.

⁵ Thurloe, vii. 299. On August 18, Nieupoort sent Thurloe a paper of articles touching the Maritime Treaty, and asked for an interview. In his letter he expressed his great satisfaction at the 'happy reconvalescency' of the Protector. *State Papers, Holland*, 162 (109).

Fleetwood, on August 3, 'hath been for these four or five days indisposed and ill, but this night hath had a very good refreshment by sleep, and is now much revived, his pains and distemper abated, and is much amended.¹ . . . These late providences have much retarded our public resolutions, that it will be October ere the Parliament can sit.' Three days later, on August 6, Mrs. Claypole died. Her body was conveyed by water from Hampton Court to Westminster, and buried on August 10 in Henry VII's chapel, where it still rests.²

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After his daughter's death Cromwell's illness took a turn for the worse. Early in August, wrote Thurloe, 'he lay very ill of the gout and other distempers, contracted by the long sickness of my lady Elizabeth, which made great impressions upon him; and since that, whether it was the retiring of the gout out of his foot into his body, or some other cause, I am not able to say, he hath been very dangerously sick, the illness whereof lasted four or five days. But blessed be God he is now reasonably well recovered, and this day he went abroad for an hour, and finds himself much refreshed by it; so that this recovery of his Highness doth much allay the sorrow for my lady Elizabeth's death. Your Excellency will easily imagine what an alarm his Highness sickness gave us, being in that posture we are now in.'³

The amendment continued for two or three days,

¹ Thurloe, vii. 309.

² *Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 742, 752; Chester, *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 521.

³ August 17, 1658. Thurloe, vii. 320, 340. Under August 13, *Mercurius Politicus* announces that the Protector was not present in Council yesterday, 'by reason of some indisposition of body which had disturbed his repose yesterday and a few days before, but this day gave evident tokens of assuring us that health, which is of so grand concernment to the peace and prosperity of these nations' (p. 759). 'His Highness,' says a newsletter dated August 17, 'is well recovered of a great distemper too much like that in Cannogate,' i.e. like the illness he had in Scotland in May, 1651 (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 161).

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and the Protector was well enough to go abroad. On one of these days George Fox went to Hampton Court to speak to the Protector about the sufferings of the Friends. 'I met him,' says Fox, 'riding into Hampton Court Park; and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his life guard, I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him he looked like a dead man.' Fox laid his complaint before Cromwell, and was told to come and see him; but when he came to Hampton Court next day, he heard that the doctors were not willing he should speak to his Highness.¹

On Saturday, August 21, the Protector fell sick again,² but he felt certain that the prayers put up for him would be answered, and was assured that he would recover. 'Banish all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving man,' he said to his doubting physicians. 'You can give great help by your skill, yet nature can do more than all physicians put together, and God is far above nature.' When the fit was past, his physicians ordered him to remove to Whitehall,³ thinking he would be benefited by the change of air, and he returned thither on August 24.⁴

At Whitehall his condition became worse instead of

¹ Fox, *Journal*, p. 440, ed. 1901.

² 'Upon Saturday morning [August 21] he fell into a fit of an ague, and by its course ever since it appears to be a tertian. The fitts were longe and somewhat sharpe; but yet the last was not soe badd as the former.'—Thurloe to H. Cromwell, August 24. *Thurloe Papers*, vii. 354.

³ 'Pergite alacres, excussâ penitus a vultu tristitiâ, meque instar servuli tractate. Pollere vobis licet prudentiâ rerum; plus tamen valet Natura quam medici simul omnes; Deus autem Naturam longiori superat intervallo.'—Bate, *Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum in Angha Pars Secunda*, p. 216, ed. 1663.

⁴ *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 784. 'This being the intervall day he came from Hampton Court thither, all the doctors judging this to be much the better place, besides the advantage which the change of air usually gives to the recovery out of agues. And although it be an ill time of the year to have an ague in, yet it being a tertian and his highness being pretty well in the intervals, the doctors do not conceive there is any danger to his life' (*Thurloe Papers*, vii. 355). The letter is dated August 24. In a postscript Thurloe adds: 'His Highness is just now entering into his fit.'

better. He was racked by alternate heats and chills; all recognised that his danger was great; 'our fears are more than our hopes,' wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell on August 27.¹ Next day the fever fits increased, and all apprehended the worst.² There were meetings of ministers at Whitehall and elsewhere, in which fervent prayers were offered for the Protector's recovery; there were also similar meetings amongst the officers, in which after the prayers were over they fell to discussing 'the posture of affairs' and the possible consequences of the Protector's death.³ Sober and peaceable Puritans were full of consternation at the prospect before them. The Protector's kinsmen and his most trusted servants echoed each others fears. 'If he should chance to be called away before it pleased God he had settled the government, I doubt we should be in a very sad condition. . . . We have cause to fear that it may go very ill with us, if the Lord should take away his Highness in this conjuncture. . . . Though his loss must needs carry weight enough in itself, yet the consideration of the miserable posture he leaves these nations in is stupendous. . . . If no settlement be made in his life time, can we be secure from the lust of ambitious men. Nay, if he would declare his successor, where is that person of wisdom, courage, conduct, and reputation at home and abroad, which we see necessary to preserve our peace? Would not good men fear one another and the world them? Would not the sons of

¹ Thurloe, vii. 362.

² 'It continued a good while to be a tertian ague and the burning fits very violent. Upon Saturday [August 27] it fell to a double tertian having two fits in twenty-four hours, one upon the heels of another, which doth extremely weaken him and endanger his life. And truly, since Saturday morning he hath scarce been perfectly out of his fits. The doctors are yet hopeful that he may struggle through it, though their hopes are mingled with much fear.'—Written on August 30. Thurloe, vii. 364.

³ Thurloe, vii. 362, 365, 369, 374.

CHAP. Zeruiah be too strong, and the wheel be turned upon us,
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To Monck, Thurloe, Fauconberg, and Henry Cromwell alike, the provision of the constitution which, to avoid the danger of election, gave the Protector the power to nominate his successor, had seemed an insufficient guarantee of the public peace. Even this power had not been exercised. Shortly before Cromwell's second installation as Protector, he drew up a paper nominating his successor, and sealed it up in the form of a letter addressed to Secretary Thurloe; but he did not deliver the letter to Thurloe and kept the person's name to himself. After he fell ill at Hampton Court, he sent one of the gentlemen of the Bedchamber to London for it, telling the messenger that it lay on his study table at Whitehall. But, in spite of the most careful search, the letter could not be found there or elsewhere. Thurloe promised to press the Protector to make a fresh nomination, but delayed, thinking him too ill to be troubled with business of so much importance. At last, on Monday, August 30, an opportunity came for speaking to him on the subject. 'This day,' writes Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, 'he hath had some discourse about it, but his illness disenabled him to *conclude it fully*.' It is probable that the name of Richard Cromwell was mentioned in this conversation; but there was no written nomination, nor were any other officers of state present.²

¹ Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, September 8. Thurloe, vii. 376.

² Thurloe, vii. 364. 'A successor there is none named that I can learn. Thurloe has seemed to be resolved to press him in his intervals to such a nomination; but whether out of apprehension to displease him if recovering, or others hereafter if it should not succeed, he has not yet done it, nor do I believe will' (Fauconberg, August 30, *ib.* vii. 365). Writing on August 31, Bordeaux says that the Protector's death is expected every hour. 'Sa famille n'avoit pas creu jusques à ceste heure le mal si dangereux, et n'a point usé d'aucune

Towards the evening of August 31 Cromwell rallied, and hope gained the upper hand again. 'I am just come out of his chamber, where both physicians and relations were much revived at the refreshment which hath now been given,' wrote Fleetwood to his brother-in-law.¹ The next day the improvement continued; it was even reported that the fever had left him, and that he was out of danger. 'There is good hopes of his recovery, except some unexpected accident happen,' wrote Thomas Clarges to General Monck; and Monck circulated the glad news through the army in Scotland.² The family of the Protector hoped to use this favourable turn to obtain the formal nomination of Richard as successor, and perhaps the convocation of Parliament.³ For Cromwell's mind was clear, and he was evidently concerned about the condition of public

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précaution pour l'advenir, personne n'osant parler de la succession. Il ne s'en est aussy rien dict dans l'assemblée des officiers de l'armée, le général Fleetwood ne les ayant entretenu que des matières de dévotion. Ainsy l'on ne peut encore dire certainement quel sera le successeur, ny si la Republique se restablira après sa mort' (*R.O. Transcripts*). Phillips, in his continuation of Baker's *Chronicle*, describes Cromwell as verbally declaring to Thurloe and to Dr. Thomas Goodwin that his son Richard was to succeed him; but their conversation was interrupted, and the two witnesses 'immediately conferring together did conceive that the business was too great and weighty for them alone to bear the burthen of the attestation of it; and therefore resolved to take the first opportunity they could to move him again therein, and to desire him for that reason to call some others to whom he might communicate his mind in that matter.' Phillips describes this as happening on August 31. I take it to be a substantially correct account of what happened on August 30, namely, that there was some incomplete and informal nomination of Richard on that day. This is further confirmed by Thurloe's later statement, 'H. H. was pleased to declare my Lord Richard his successor. He did it on Monday' (Thurloe, vii. 373).

¹ Thurloe, vii. 367. 'He is so weak for the present he is capable of doing nothing respecting to the public,' writes Thurloe the same day (p. 366).

² Clarke, *Papers*, iii. 161. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 383.

³ On September 1 Bordeaux reported the amendment in the Protector's condition, and said there was room for hope. Lord Fauconberg had told him that 'la famille va se prevaloir de ce bon moment pour establir mylord R., et donner un ordre pour l'assemblée d'un Parlement, afin que si le mal recommence, ce qui ne peut arriver sans causer la mort, tout soit disposé à conserver la puissance dans la famille.'—*R.O. Transcripts*.

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affairs. One who watched in his bedchamber heard him praying, and remarked that 'a public spirit to God's cause did breathe in him to the very last.' For he prayed, not for himself or for his family, but for Puritanism and for all Puritans—for God's cause and 'God's people.' 'Thou hast made me,' he said, 'though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good and Thee service. And many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. But, Lord, howe'er Thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love, and go on to deliver them. . . . Teach those who look too much upon Thy instruments to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure.'¹

On Thursday, September 2, it became evident that the Protector was dying. He grew hourly weaker. Through the night he was very restless, speaking often to himself in broken sentences difficult to hear. 'I would be willing,' he said once, 'to live to be further serviceable to God and His people, but my work is done.' 'God will be with His people.' He resigned himself to die.

A physician offered him something to drink, bidding him to take it, and to endeavour to sleep, but he answered: 'It is not my design to drink or to sleep, but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone.' Towards morning he spoke again, 'using divers holy expressions, implying much inward consolation and peace'; and with them he mingled 'some exceeding self-debasing words annihilating and judging himself.'

¹ *A Collection of several passages concerning his late Highness in the time of his sickness*, p. 12.

After that he was silent, and at four o'clock on the afternoon of Friday he died.

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Some time on September 2, an attempt was made to obtain from the dying Protector a formal declaration as to the succession. Thurloe asked him if he continued still of the same mind about the matter as he was when they last spoke of it; and receiving an affirmative reply sent for some members of the Council to attest it. To them Cromwell repeated that he would have his eldest son Richard to succeed him; and, on their evidence, this was accepted by the rest of the Council as sufficient to meet the requirements of the constitution.¹

¹ 'The preceding night, and not before, in presence of four or five of the Council he declared my Lord Richard his successor,' writes Fauconberg (Thurloe, vi. 375). Bordeaux says, writing on September 3, and announcing the Protector's death, 'il a eu le temps de nommer son fils aîné pour successeur.' The same evening he adds that the Council has met, 'et sur la relation de cinq d'entre eux, qui ont assuré qu'hier au soir M. le Protecteur, par un testament nuncupatif, avoit nommé son fils aîné son successeur, le Conseil l'a reconnu pour Protecteur' (Guizot, ii. 599, 600). Phillips gives a very circumstantial account of the incident, which may be summarised as follows:—Perceiving the Protector to grow weaker, Thurloe and Goodwin on Thursday, September 2, asked whether he remembered what he had said to them, and 'whether he continued of the same mind or not, touching the succession of his son Richard?' He answered that he did. They then told him they must send forthwith for some others as it was a matter 'of too great concernment and consequence for them alone to undertake.' Accordingly they introduced Fiennes, Whalley, and Goffe; and the five 'went to the bedside and one of them asked him, touching what he had declared to Dr. Goodwin and Mr. Thurloe. He thereupon said again, that he would have his son, his son Richard, to succeed him.' They then left him. Fleetwood and Desborough, who had been sent for, arrived a few minutes later. They did not put the question again, but declared themselves content with the attestation of the five. Fiennes and Thurloe next day gave an account of this to the Council, which Goffe, Whalley, and Goodwin were called in to attest (Baker's *Chronicle*, ed. 1670, pp. 652, 653).

I take this to be substantially correct, although Phillips, as we have seen, fixes the first discussion of the subject on Tuesday, August 31, instead of August 30. Phillips is the only person who mentions the part played by Goodwin; but Thurloe's silence on the point does not disprove it. As to the other persons mentioned as present at the Protector's final declaration, Goffe's presence is the only one which appears improbable.

The only argument of any weight against the story is the positive declaration of Thurloe. 'H. H. was pleased to declare my lord Richard his successor. He did it on Monday' (Thurloe, vii. 373). This contradicts his letter of

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Practically no other choice was possible. A tradition represents Fleetwood's as the name contained in the missing document. But Fleetwood's political incapacity had been shown in Ireland, and the weakness of his character must have been well known to the Protector. No other officer had sufficient reputation or influence to be a possible candidate.¹

Some historians have wondered that Oliver did not nominate his son Henry rather than Richard, and have speculated on the possibility that the Cromwellian dynasty might have lasted had the abler brother succeeded. It is certain that Henry Cromwell was a man of real political capacity; but he was too unpopular with the leaders of the military party to be accepted by them as a master. Even the conservative party in the Council would not have approved his selection, because they desired to establish the principle of hereditary succession, in order to give stability to the Protectorate and assimilate it to a monarchy. On the other hand,

August 30, in which he says that the Protector was 'disenabled to conclude it fully' in that day. There is no reason why Thurloe should not have regarded the informal nomination of August 30 as sufficient. But why was he silent, in writing to Henry Cromwell, about the more formal declaration of September 2? It is possible that he regarded the informal declaration made by the Protector when in full possession of his senses, as of more validity than one extracted from him when he was only half conscious. Bate says, 'Qui a sacris consiliis ministrabant, indicto tempore admonitum veniunt ut de successore statueret. Cum autem comatosus praeter propositum responderet, affantur iterum; Annon Richardum filium natu majorem pro successore nominaret. Annuit ille' (*Elenchus*, ii. 217). Professor Michael (*Cromwell*, ii. 192, 220) prints an account of the nomination of Richard given by Schlezer in a letter of Sept. 10. It differs from Bate's account, and attributes to the dying Protector a speech in praise of Richard which he was not in a condition to make, if Bate's story is correct.

¹ The story that Fleetwood was named in this paper rests on the authority of Bate, *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum, Pars Secunda*, pp. 215, 223, ed. 1663. It is related also by Phillips in his continuation of Baker's *Chronicle*, ed. 1670, p. 653. He adds that the fact was known to the Council, who made Fleetwood swear that, if such a paper should hereafter be found, he would nevertheless accept the verbal declaration in favour of Richard, and acquiesce in his succession.

Richard was acceptable to both the contending parties in the Council ; he had roused no jealousies or animosities, and created no fears. His defects, which were well known to his father, did not unfit him to play the part of a constitutional king. The name of Cromwell was a great asset, and if wisely counselled he might prove able to keep the power his father left him. Cromwell might have said to him, as Shakespeare's Henry IV said to his son :—

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‘To thee it shall descend with better quiet,
Better opinion, better confirmation,
For all the soil of the achievement goes
With me into the earth.’

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